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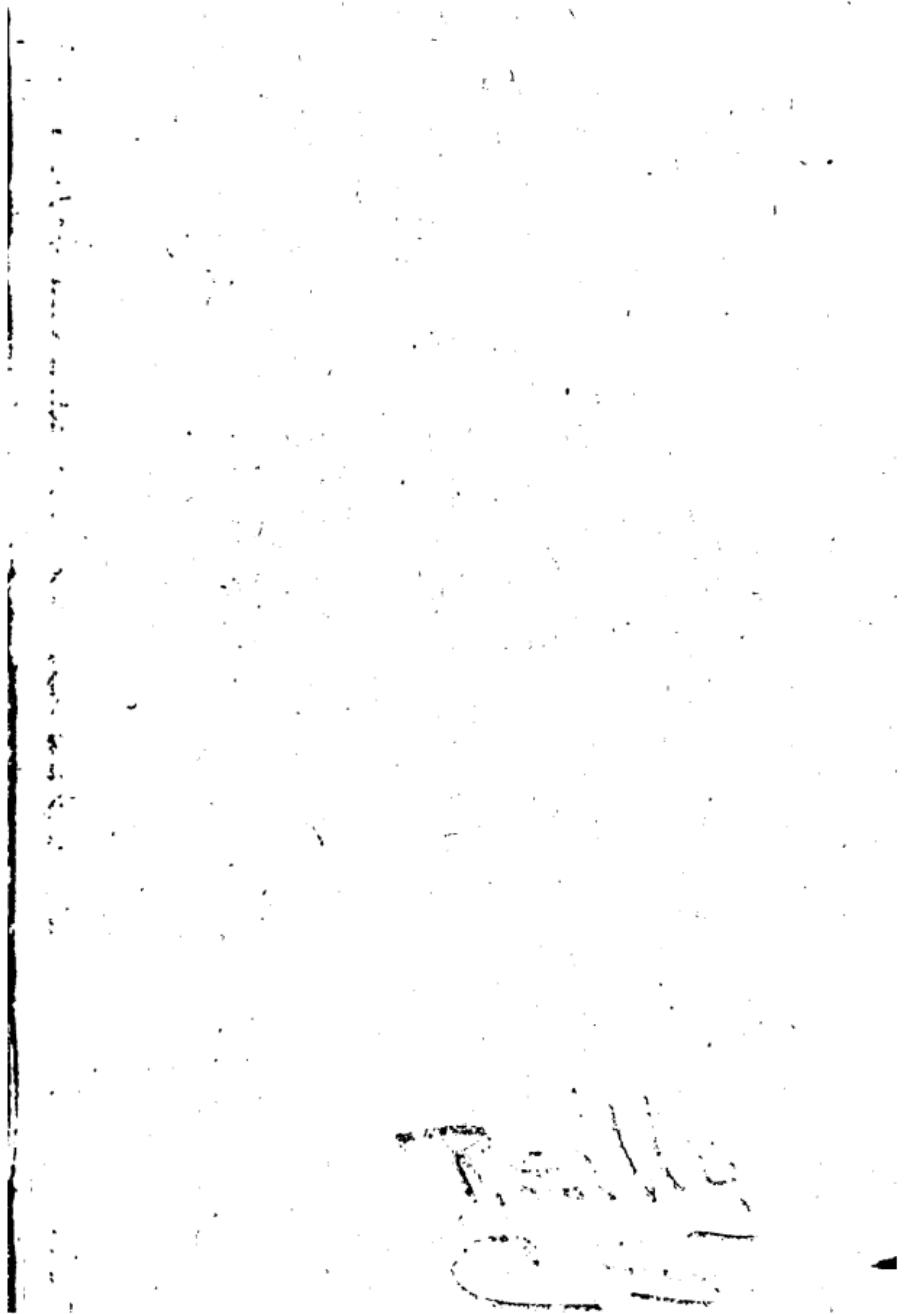
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R. H. Wilson,

Bengal Civil Service.



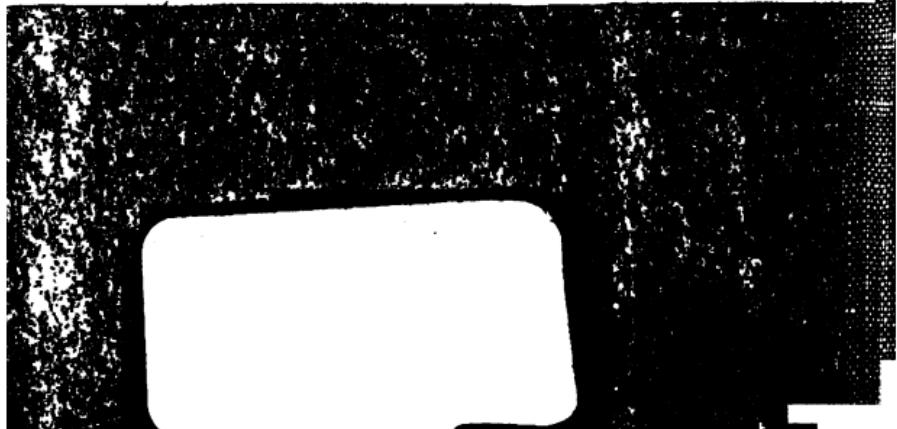


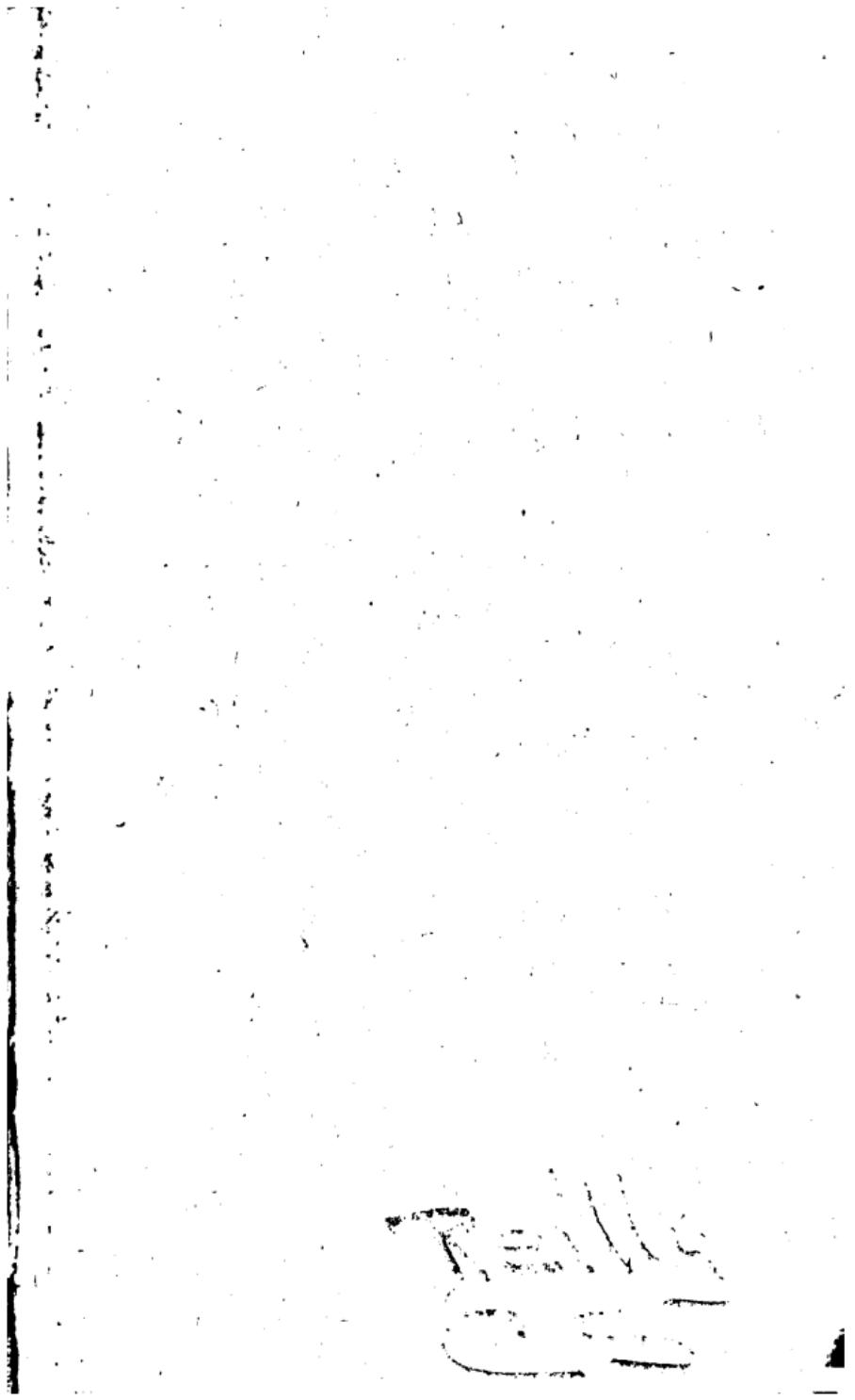
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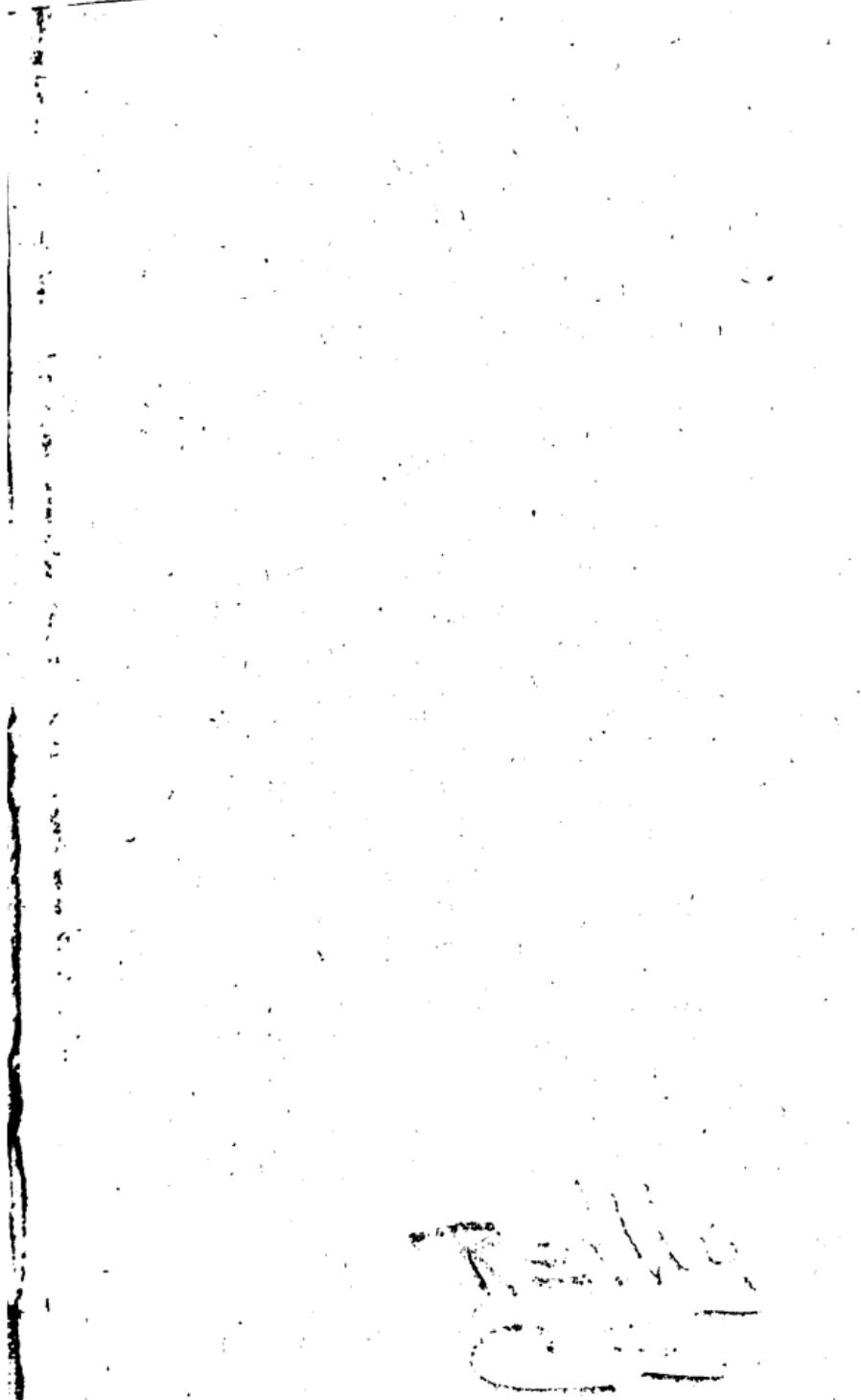


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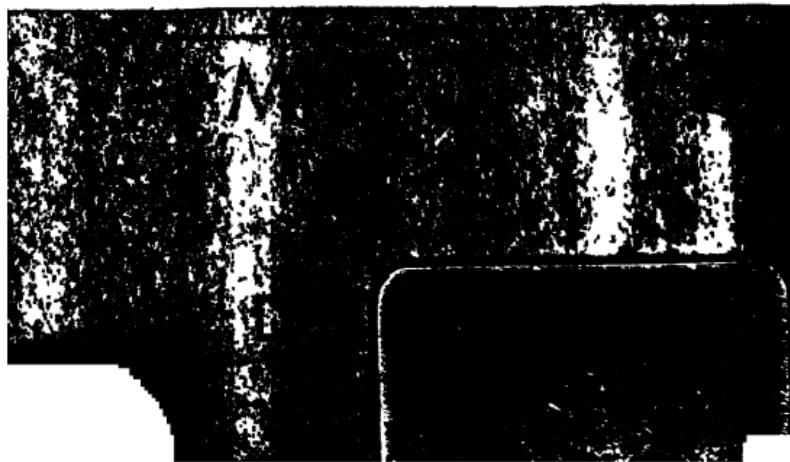


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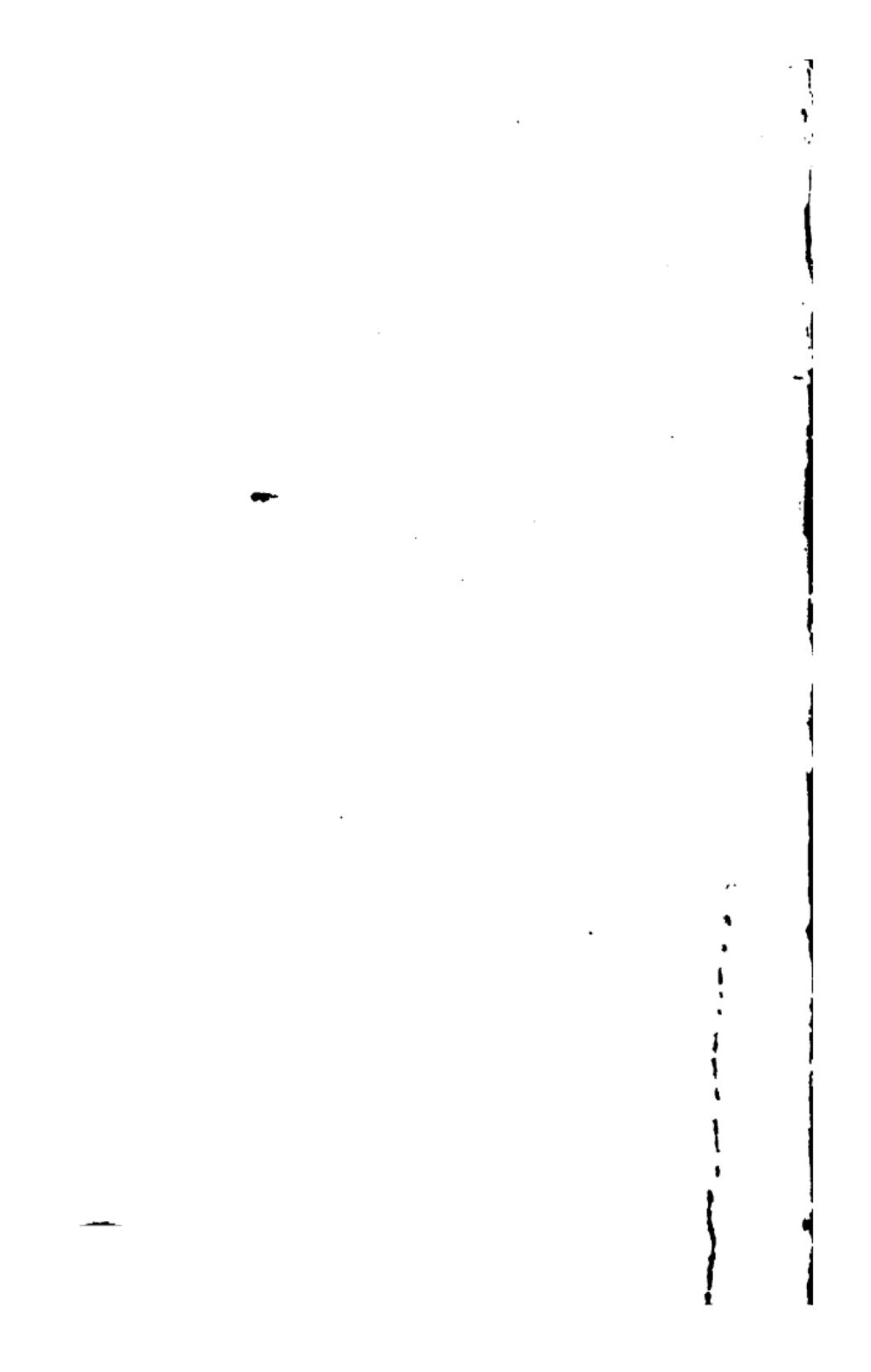
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THE IMPARTIAL
HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,
CONTAINING

A Summary Account, of all the Battles, Sieges, Rebellions and Massacres. As also the Valour and Loyalty of the Irish, and the many Calumnies thrown on that Country and People wiped off. Together, with the most Remarkable Transactions both in Church and State, since the Reformation.

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THE LATTER

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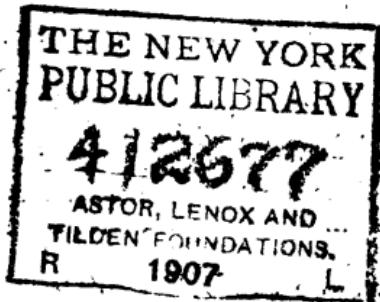
Great is Truth, and Mighty above all Things. 3 *Exodus*: 4. 4. strive for the Truth unto Death, and the Lord shall fight for thee. *Eccles. 4, 23.*

Dublin:

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THE P R E F A C E.

THE Affairs of Ireland, ever since licentiousness, appeared there under the cloak of Gospel-liberty, have been so strangely misrepresented abroad, especially in England, where every passage was stuffed with such groundless fictions and malicious calumnies, industriously contrived and spread about by a sort of people, who seemed to believe they could do no greater service to the God of Truth, than to act the part of the father of lies; that it is no easy matter for ordinary enquirers to trace out the naked truth of any thing transacted in that country these hundred years past, at least, to the satisfaction of those, who are too much prepossessed and wedded to their first notions, and perhaps have in this case no great mind to be unfeigned.

'Tis a true saying, opinion governs the world, and of all opinions that of interest is the most powerful;

It was Saint Paul's sentiment, that godliness is great gain; but the reformed Saints of this age invert the maxim, and do rather conclude, that gain is great godlessness.

A 2

Upon

• i Tim. 6. 6.

Upon this godly motive it was, that our zealous reformers went into Ireland to propagate their gospel, where they took more pains to make the land turn Protestant than the people; the confiscation of men's estates (as King Charles the first well observed of that tribes apostolical spirit) being more beneficial, than the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their errors.*

And because they could not compass this so effectually, without rendering the Catholic proprietors very black and odious to the world, their great zeal for converting those Popish acres made them stick at nothing that might forward so holy a design; and therefore in all cases their chief text was, throw dirt enough, something will stick; Calumniare fortiter, aliquid adhaerbit.

Hence it is that those Protestants who went to settle in Ireland, and writ of what passed there either in their own time or before, especially since the reformation, took all possible care to stifle or disguise the truth, and were so far from mentioning any thing, at least as far as ever I could find, that might be of any credit or advantage to the Catholic natives, except some few pasages in Sir John Davis, that they loaded them on every occasion, with all the calumnies wit or malice could invent.

And those their malicious and groundless fictions they imposed for truth, not only upon the inferior sort of English historians; who being all Protestants, and generally fanatics were apt to catch

* Icon Basil, chap. 12.

THE P R E A C E.

v

catch at any bulrush for promoting their good old cause, but even upon those of the first magnitude, particularly the learned antiquary Mr. Cambden, whose errors of that kind gave just occasion to the known and true epigram,

" Angligenas oculis lustras, Cambdens duobus ;
Uno oculo Scotos ; Caecus, Hibernigenas.

Of this sort of writers we have a cloud of instances, but a very remarkable one in Sir John Temple, who writ as many lies in a manner as lines, in his romantic legend of the Irish rebellion, on purpose to blacken the people, and exasperate the republicans of England against them, and against the King too, upon the account of the murders he pretends to have been there committed, whereof the hundred part was not true.

And in our days the Rev. Dr. King, the pillar of the party, shews plainly in his late elaborate piece, what spirit our Irish reformers ate of, when their interest prompts them to play the Devil in God's name.

It were too tedious, and indeed not worth the while to mention the rest; they are all of a piece, and as the Scotchman says, the De'e'l a barrel better herrings; Insomuch that if they did not abominately confess, as much as they hate restitution (which though undeniably one of the most essential parts of a repenting Christian's duty, is yet never preached nor practised by Protestants, let them wrong their neighbours never so much) they might all unanimously cry with the scornful rulers of Jerusalem, mentioned by the prophet. We have

made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves. • For it seems very plain that the same active envoy, who offered to be a lying spirit in the mouth of all the prophets of king † Ahab performed his part with a witness among these Evangelical seers.

For my part, I can affirm, I have here endeavoured to trace out and deliver the truth, as near as possible I could in so short a discourse ; and the chief points of what is related in the following treatise, I have taken from authentic records, and the most impartial memoirs of these times, or from living witnesses of quality and undoubted probity only in some few cases I followed the common and constant tradition of the most knowing people of that country ; which in my opinion, is much more warrantable than the malicious incoherent, and in some cases, morally impossible, relation of others.

I am still ready to stand corrected, when better proofs are produced ; for there is nothing I love so entirely as truth and justice ; and therefore I hold myself obliged to any one that will give a more exact account of those affairs, with such proofs as may seem reasonable to any indifferent person, without shuffling or going about the bush.

In the mean time, I will upon these terms conclude with the poet.

Si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperti
Si non, his utere mecum.

THE

• Isa. 28. 15. † 1. Kings, 22, 22.

THE GENUINE History of Ireland.

THE FIRST PART.

AS soon as Queen Mary died, Elizabeth, Henry the VIII's Daughter by Anna Bullen, was assumed to the Crown through the fatal stupidity of the Catholic clergy and laity, who were then by much the major part of the kingdom, and the men chiefly in power; yet foolishly preferring a bastard, of their own country, before the lawful issue of Henry the Seventh's eldest daughter, married into Scotland, they unanimously proclaimed Elizabeth Queen of England; although, besides many other proofs of her being illegitimate, they knew very well that she had been so declared by two Acts of Parliament then in force, and never yet repealed.

This Queen being sensible, that by the ancient and known laws of the Catholic church, and the decrees of several Popes, which she could not expect to get repealed, she was a notorious bastard, and consequently had no right to the crown, (as in truth she had no more by the fundamental laws of the land than the late D. of Monmouth) openly declared herself a Protestant, and resolved to establish that sort of profession in all her dominions; in which undertaking her preachers had much the

The Genuine History

same success, that the Harlot boasted of to Socrates, That she could find more followers than he, notwithstanding all his philosophy, because (as that great man answered) she proposed the loose way of vice and wickedness, while himself preached the rugged part of virtue.

In England she since got her parliaments to pass what laws she pleased to that purpose, and to turn Protestants too for company, as being the easier way to Heaven ; for 'till then, the silly Papists thought themselves very happy, if they could reach thither at any rate, not only like Pilgrims on foot, but with a continual exercise of tedious fastings ; large alms-deeds, frequent confessions, austere penance, and over and above all this, a full and free restitution to the utmost of their power, whensoever they had injured their neighbours ; but upon a new Protestant discovery of the north-east passage to Paradise, they found they might go to Heaven in coaches, and be secured of the land of promise without that superstitious toperry, which could avail them nothing. Wherefore this edifying doctrine of Gospel liberty, so charming for its novelty and so agreeable to flesh and blood was immediately received into England with open arms ; and for fear the changeable people should offer at any time to prefer the Flesh pots of Egypt before this heavenly manna, it was therefore established by dint of law,

But in Ireland the incorrigible fools were more steady and fixed in their ancient way of worship ; for altho' in Henry the VIII's time they were strangely imposed upon, and made believe that the chief Quarrel this K. had with the Pope was

purely about civil affairs or matters of temporal government; were confirmed in this opinion, because the king himself and his English parliament too, who had declared for him against the Pope, were at the same time all professed Roman Catholics, for which reason the Irish Parliament made no scruple to pass several extravagant acts against the papal jurisdiction, or the same in effect that had passed before in the parliament of England; yet having had time to consider of what they had done, and finding that all the Catholics of Europe exclaimed against their proceedings, they no sooner met again in Parliament, which was the third of Philip and Mary, but they unanimously repealed and abolished all the said statutes.

Queen Elizabeth therefore knowing that the Irish could not be again surprised the same way: but on the contrary were resolved against all innovations in religion, caused a packed convention to assemble under the notion of a Parliament, which for the most part consisted of such members as she believed might be easily won, or imposed upon, nor thwart her designs. For in this convention all possible care was taken that very few of the most eminent peers, and as few of the leading commoners, of the kingdom, should meet; by which means, and some other subsequent devices, matters were so contrived, that several acts were then pawned upon the people for granting to that Queen the absolute disposal of ecclesiastical livings, especially of bishopricks, for enjoining her new oath of supremacy, and utterly abolishing the Pope's jurisdiction. And to complete the work for establishing instead of Mass her book of common

The Genuine History

r, with severe penalties upon such as should be any branch of their precious reformation, w that these pretended statutes were gained ticks, and sinister ways and not by the free legal consent of the representative body of ition, plainly appears from this undeniable that not one in five hundred of the natives ten Protestants, or became so during Q. Eli's reign, which could not possibly have hap no more than it did in England and Scots had the Irish lords and commons freely nted to the enacting of such laws. And for her confirmation of this truth, it is to be ed, that while those lived that sat in said ntion, and knew very well that no such acts passed by them, this Queen never ventured them in execution, nor indeed to make any noise there were such statutes in being, until the Spanish armada, which came to invade the Year 1588 was utterly defeated.

at Spanish cloud was no sooner dispersed than lizabeth resolved to fall upon the Irish with severity imaginable, in order to force her ded reformation upon them; first, she pro d some on pretence of having relieved a few irds cast by stress of weather upon the coast and; then she ordered others to be seized on wing harboured Catholic bishops, priests and ; and a great many more were questioned wing been at Mass, or not coming to the tant meetings, as they were enjoined by the etended acts, of parliament.
nobility and gentry of Ireland particular

ly the Earl of Tyrone, and several others of the leading men of the nation, were strangely alarmed at this illegal way of proceeding; for they plainly saw there was no choice now left but either to abjure their religion, or to stand in their own just defence against the arbitrary encroachments of that usurper. They chose to venture upon the latter, and the rather because of the encouragement they received not only from the Spaniards, who promised them mighty succour, but also from James the 6th King of Scotland, who tho' bred a Protestant, yet as well to revenge his mother Queen Mary's barbarous murder, the undoubted heiress of the Crown of England and Ireland, as also to divert and weaken the English, in case they should oppose his rightful succession, sent them under-hand more effectual supplies from time to time than the Spaniards did, notwithstanding their great promises.

Hereupon a war ensued, which lasted several years, and ended not 'till Queen Elizabeth was expiring. The Lord Mountjoy, then her deputy of Ireland, finding she was despatched of by her physicians, and not knowing what revolution might happen in England upon her death, employed some friends under-hand to make overtures to the Earl of Tyrone of a general amnesty for himself and all his adherents, the free exercise of their religion, and a full enjoyment of their estates and fortunes, on condition that they would speedily lay down their arms. Tyrone and his party accepted of these terms, and were thereupon every one of them restored

restored to their former possessions; which they peaceably enjoyed for several years after. The summer following, Tyrone goes for England, to submit himself in person to King James, who now succeeded Queen Elizabeth in the English throne, where he was not only well received by the King, as Baker observes, but also had a proclamation issued in his favour, that he should be used by all men with honour and respect.

This King, while in Scotland, gave great hopes to the English Catholics, * and to the Pope, of his favourable intentions towards their party, and promised him his protection and favour, in case he succeeded Queen Elizabeth; nay, there was an express letter under the king's hand and seal sent to Clement the 8th then Pope, to assure his holiness of his Majesty's inclination to become Roman Catholic, when he was settled on the English throne, as † Sanderson and several others mention, but with this addition of their own, that the letter was sent by the fraud of the Scotch secretary of state; but however it was, 'tis most certain, that the King was soon diverted from all this by the fraud and wicked artifice of the English secretary, crook-backed Cecil, by whom, after the said letter was brought out of the Pope's cabinet, his Majesty was prevailed upon to shew that party no manner of countenance, but on the contrary, to pass very severe laws against them upon the account of the horrid powder plot, which was soon after framed by the contrivance of that crafty minister

* The Powder plot. † In his King James Edt. London, 1656, page 48.

nister, but fathered upon the English Catholics, because some thirteen turbulent spirits of them, men for the most part of desperate estates * as they were described by king James's own proclamation, were wheedled into it by that crooked Architophel, as their likeliest way to be secured against the bloody penal law of Queen Elizabeth.

I know this point has been sufficiently handled too and fro by able pens both Protestant and Catholic, but upon the whole matter I'm clearly of opinion, that no rational man, who impartially weighs all the strange circumstances of that hellish contrivance (as they are represented by several writers of both sides, but more fully handled by the honourable and ingenious author of the Catholic apology, † printed Anno. 1674) but must believe, that none was more deeply concerned therein than Cecil himself: for if we consider first the number, the quality, and the interest of the plotters so very unlikely to carry on a design of that extraordinary nature: secondly, the unaccountable romantic manner of its discovery, by a ‡ letter from an unknown hand, which could not possibly have been penned by any real plotter in his wits, much less sent ten § days before the intended execution, when the sending it on the very eve had been much better, thirdly, how the ring-leaders ¶ Catesby and Percy, who best knew the bottom

* See proclamation 7th November, 1605. † In his 28th repl. p. 399. ‡ Baker's Chron. edit. Anno, 1670. p. 410. § Sanderson's King James; page 323. Hows King James edit. Anno 1631. page 176. ¶ Baker p. 41c,

bottom of the design, were killed on the spot, as Tresham died in a few days after he was sent to the Tower, and of a strangury forsooth; which was ever reputed a lingering distemper; and in fine if we call to mind how wicked statesmen have often used the like practices for ends of their own as Cecil's own father the Lord Burleigh and his predecessor † Walsingham had frequently done in Queen Elizabeth's reign; even as in our own days the tyrant Cromwell contrived several such plots for ensnaring the royal cavaliers, and Cecil Rédi-vivù, creeping Shaftsbury, was no less dexterous in the late King's days: all these circumstances, I say, duly and impartially considered, we cannot but conclude, as Osburn an inquisitive Protestant author of those times has already done, who plainly says, that ‡ the powder plot was a neat device of the treasurer, i. e. of Crook-backed Cecil, who after he had done this mighty piece of service, was in a few months made knight of the garter, and in a few years, high treasurer of England.

This haughty Haman, now puffed up with success, shewed himself so open and so inveterate an enemy to his Catholic countrymen, that he was accused (as Saunderson § mentions), of determining their utter extirpation. Neither did his malice stop here, but being a famed professor in tricks, (as Osburn describes him) and finding how well his wicked stratagem took in London, he frames

* Baker ibid, † Camden edit. Anno 1627 ad Annum 1606. p. 408. ‡ Osburn's historical memoirs edit. Anno 1658 p. 36. § In his King James p. 335.

frames a project to carry on the like design in Ireland: In order to this Christophe S. Lawrence, commonly called 'the blind Lord of Ulster,' was wrought upon to invite the Earl of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, the Lord Baron of Delvin, and several other leading Men of the Irish Catholics to a meeting, & wherein having first persuaded them to an oath of secrecy, as having somewhat of moment to tell them, he declares, that to his knowledge the state had resolved to force the Catholics of Ireland, to become Protestants and that to prevent this mischief, they had no way but their speedy and unanimous resolution to stand in their own defence, until they were secured against all alterations in religion.

The proposal was no sooner made than rejected unanimously by the whole company, alleging they had on reason to apprehend such usage contrary to public faith; that King James was a just Prince, and by an undoubted right their lawful Sovereign; and therefore that they would not rashly venture upon so dangerous an undertaking. Nevertheless St. Lawrence goes immediately to the Lord Deputy, and discovered their meeting, charging them with a treasonable conspiracy; whereupon Tyrone and the rest were sent for, and examined before the Council, where they stiffly denied the whole matter; but seeing St. Lawrence appeared before them to confront them, they acknowledged there had been indeed such a meeting and proposal made by St. Lawrence, but unanimously rejected by them for divers reasons, which they then repeated.

They

They were severally examined but all agreeing, and nothing appearing against them but one single witness, the council did not think fit to commit them, but ordered them to appear again the next day. In the mean time they were underhand advised by some pretended friends in the council, to save themselves for fear of being imprisoned, till some other corrupted evidence might be found; which they were assured was designed. This knavish advice the said earls foolishly took, and were thereupon declared rebels, and not only their own particular estates, but also six entire counties in Ulster were seized upon as forfeited to the crown, without any further hearing or legal trial; and divided among several English and Scotch Protestants, on such conditions as made it plain, the natives, together with their religion were to be for ever suppressed; for they were prohibited under pecuniary mulcts and other severe penalties from the exercise of it, and in every grant there was a special proviso in the letters patent, that no part of those lands should be set to farm, at least not sold or transferred to any but to English or Scotch Protestants. At the same time St. Lawrence, notwithstanding the great zeal he pretended but a little before for the preservation of the Catholic religion, turned Protestant, and upon that account had no small share of the spoil.

There was no doubt but this strange usage caused great heart-burnings among the Irish, especially those of the said six escheated counties, who were the immediate sufferers, yet they patiently bore their afflictions until they found that their enemies malice was not to rest there, but had resolved to extirpate

extirpate their whole nation, or force them to renounce their religion. The earl of Strafford alarmed a great many by the sinister way he took, during his government of that kingdom, to find flaws in the titles of several gentlemen to their ancient estates in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught; which he did, not to serve the King, but to enrich himself and his creatures. Among the many instances that could be given of this kind, that of the territory of Idough in the county of Kilkenny, is very remarkable, for Strafford being resolved to seize upon that scope of land, and finding no legal cause against the proprietors, who had been in the quiet and peaceable possession thereof for some ages, he caused an inquisition to be taken about the year 1635 whereby that whole territory was found in the King, upon no other pretence, but that Henry the second was entitled to it near upon 500 years before. And upon this single account he turns the former proprietors out of doors, and gets the same granted by letters patent to his own relation, Sir. Christopher Wandesford. Ex Ungle Leonem.

This was another, and a very shrewd warning-piece to make the Irish apprehend what usage they were like to expect; but they were threatened far worse afterwards, when the Presbyterian party in England and Scotland, having concerted among themselves, and resolved to run down Episcopacy and their monarchy too, had wheedled King Charles the first into such prodigious concessions, especially that fatal mistake of making his English parliament perpetual; that it was no longer in his power to stop their career: For then their Brethren in iniquity,

The Genuine History

the fanatics of Ireland; who all the while
a strict correspondence with those of Eng-
concluded that now or never was the time
em to extirpate the Irish Catholics, root and
b. To compass this godly project, they
da • petition addressed to the English par-
nt, and got it signed by many thousand hands
ng that the Irish Papists might be forced
to turn Protestants or to abjure the king-
and such, as should prove refractory, to be
d at their own doors. And so sure they were
ryng this point, that several of them de-
openly and above board, even at the council
that within a twelve-month there should
e a Catholic to be seen in Ireland.

re we have a hopeful scheme of a Protestant
ugh reformation, where knocking arguments
rged, not to convince people's judgement, but
et to heat out their brains, a practice never
ht at, much less used by the most renowned
primitive Christians towards the very hea-

For the Roman emperors, after they hap-
submitted the eagle to the cross of Christ,
so far from offering any such force or vio-
to those, who were educated in the Pagan
f worship, that they never proposed to have
punished either in purse or person, for not
ming to the Christian faith; because they
not but think it highly unreasonable, that a
e, who brought in no new sort of religion,
of their own, or of any other late invention,

but

ee the Narrative of the late troubles in Ire-
dit, London Anno 1660. p. 3.

but were in the peaceable possession of an old one for many hundreds, if not thousands of years before the Gospel was known in the world, should be otherwise dealt with in order to their conversion, than by prayers and preaching, and convincing reasons, the only methods prescribed, and practised by Christ and his Apostles. Thus did the glory of our British isle, the great Constantine, (as appears by his edict recorded by Eusebius * in that Emperor's life) endeavour with strong and solid arguments to persuade his Heathen subjects to quit their vain and foolish Idolatry, and embrace the truth of the Gospel; yet he never offered to force any, but to the contrary declared, that he left them a free liberty to follow their own inclination. And to come nearer home, thus did King Ethelbert, the first English Christian Monarch, after he was converted by St. Austin the Monk, deal with his Pagan subjects of whom he never persecuted any (as venerable Bede informs us) but gave every body the freedom of his conscience: the same § author observes, he learnt from those who taught him the way of salvation, that the service of Christ must be no forced compliance, but a free and voluntary obedience.— Nevertheless our new sort of saints must have new methods of their own, so as to out do even the furious zeal of the Arian reformers, who were the

first.

* L. b. a de Vita Constantini, c. 47 &c. § Dicserat enim et a Doctoribus, Auctoribus quæque Salutis Servitium Christi Voluntarium, non coactum esse deberet. Beda Lib. 1. Uist. Genit. singulorum, Cap. 25.

first contrivers among Christians of that unchristian way of reforming the Catholic church by penal laws and persecutions ; and therefore the Catholics of Ireland, who for twelve hundred years together stuck to the faith they first received from their Apostle St. Patrick, must now be convinced by halters and gibbets, that their ancestors were all in the wrong, and that Christ stood in need of Luther and Calvin's new Revelations to refine his gospel, and to rebuild his church, which was quite gone to decay, notwithstanding all his fair promises to the contrary. And what is the natural consequence of all this but that Bernardinus • Ochinus was in the right, and that men of sense cannot in reason believe in such a lying Messia, as Jesus Christ.

But to pursue our present purpose, the barbarous petition aforesaid came at last to the knowledge of some Catholic gentlemen in Ulster, as it was there handed about, in order to get more subscriptions ; and that by the means of one Mr. Primrose a Minister, living near Crum Castle, into whose hand it came, that it might be signed both by himself and by the chief Protestants of his parish and neighbourhood. But he, as he was an honest moral man, and no enemy to the Roman Catholic religion, being astonished at so unchristian a design, which he knew was vastly different from the spirit of the primitive church, (the pattern these Protestants pretended to follow) shewed the petition to the said Catholics, who soon after complained

* See Sir Kenelm Digby's observations on Religion Medici.

complained of it to the Judges then going the circuit, and to some other Magistrates but all to no purpose; for upon the whole matter they were rather confirmed in their apprehensions of the approaching danger, than eased with any hopes of security. This put the Catholics of the whole kingdom into very great consternation, and the rather because they knew the Lord Justices Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, were not only rank Presbyterians, but openly for the parliament, against the King; so that no redress could be expected at their hands. And on the other side, they found that his Majesty's affairs were so far embroiled in England, that it was not in his power to relieve them; for if the house of commons there carried it so high against the Protestant Bishops and clergy established by law, (to say nothing of Strafford's unparalleled usage) it was in vain for Catholics, especially for those of Ireland, to hope for any protection against them. The people thus abandoned on all sides, could plainly see their danger, but not the way to escape it; They saw no security but in arms, yet that seemed too desperate a remedy even for so desperate a disease, and besides being no way furnished either with arms or ammunition, they were at a stand, not knowing what to do when all of a sudden an unlucky occasion presented.

The King receiving, but too late, what his rebel parliament designed against him in England, sends instructions by the Marquis of Antrim to the Earl of Ormond, then lieutenant-general of his army in Ireland, to contrive with his other loyal subjects there, the best methods they could for seizing upon the parliamentarian justices, and declaring

clarion in favour of his Majesty, against the proceedings of the English parliament. Ormond communicates the message to a select number both of Catholics and Protestants, and after several meetings and debates, the matter was at last concerted, and the 16th of November 1641, when the Irish parliament was to meet, appointed for putting it in execution.

But the design taking wind, and coming to the knowledge of those they call the Old Irish, from whom Ormond earnestly desired it should be kept secret, Sir Phelim O'Neil, with several others of Ulster, resolving to be beforehand with his lordship, against whom they were highly incensed for offering to conceal this secret from them as if they were less zealous than others for their Majesty's service, entered, for the same end, into a conspiracy, persuaded themselves that if they succeeded, they should not only be indulged in point of religion, as the Presbyterian covenanters had lately been in Scotland, but also be restored to their former estates, out of which they had been dispossessed but about thirty years before by the English and Scotch Protestants, who were now generally bent for the parliament against the king.

The plot being thus laid, and the 23d of October 41, appointed for its execution, to get the start of Ormond and his party, my Lord Maguire with several others undertook to seize upon the Lords Justices and Castle of Dublin; but their design being discovered the night before it was to have been executed, his Lordship was taken and sent prisoner into England. Sir Phelim O'Neil and his confederates had better success in Ulster, where

where they surprized Claremont, and some other garrisons. This is the naked truth of the rise and origin of the Irish insurrection in winter 1641, as I have been often assured by men of sense and known integrity of that country, particularly by a very honest gentleman now in France, who above ten years ago affirmed to me he had it even from Ormond's own mouth some years before : and I am fully persuaded, it is the most rational, and most likely account that has been yet given of that matter. And for a further confirmation of it, the Marchioness of Antrim, still living, and always a very zealous Protestant, and therefore in this case a witness beyond exception, owned to some friends in London in the year 1683, that she had often heard the Marquis her husband give much the same relation of this particular; and with all to affirm, that Ormond had no other ground or motive for the great persecution he raised against him upon the late King's restoration, but that he suspected him (and that very wrongfully, as the Marquis solemnly protested to herself and others) to have discovered the secret aforesaid to Sir Phelim O'Neil.

The Lords Justices, and most of the Council, were not a little pleased at this revolution, and swallowing already in hopes the estates of all the Catholics in the kingdom, which they had long gaped after, did now resolve to leave no stone unturned fully to compass that design. They issued several proclamations against the Ulster rebels, requiring all loyal subjects to oppose and suppress them; yet this only was for shew, or as the saying is, a copy of their countenance, for their true intention

4 The Genuine History.

ntention was to involve the inhabitants of the other provinces also in the same crime, so as to bring them under the lash of the law ; and therefore they took no care to suppress the Northern insurrection, that the contagion might spread and infect the whole kingdom. For this reason when the Catholics about Dublin offered their service to the Lords Justices they were not only refused arms and ammunition, at least to any purpose, but soon after denied even protection, insomuch that the soldiers were suffered to plunder, and knock many of them on the head without any manner of revocation. Neither were others better used in the rest of the kingdom, who not only were never concerned in the rebellion, but also offered to give security to live quietly and peaceably at home.— Yet this was so far from being granted, that they were ill used every where by the Protestants and treated more like rebels than subjects, nay the Earl of Castlehaven suffered many months imprisonment for offering to speak in their behalf, and was believed that his head would have paid for it, but that he happily made his escape.

The King, to whom for a great while the affairs of Ireland were industriously + misrepresented : found out at last the true origin of this commotion, and that it sprung from the same source whence proceeded all the rest of his troubles, which was a formed design of the republican part of his subjects to ruin himself and his friends as perhaps by his serious reflections in his solitudes + where he says

* See Castlehaven's Memoirs, second edition.
King Charles I. Sense of the troubles in Ireland
Icon Basilike, chapter 12.

says; ‘certainly, it is thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in England, was not the least incentive that kindled and blew up into horrid flames and sparks of discontent, which wanted no predisposed fuel to rebellion in Ireland; where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easy to provoke them to an open rebellion — both to exempt themselves from their present restraint, and to prevent those after rigours, where-with they saw themselves apparently threatened by the covetous zeal and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great argument of the truth of their religion to endure no other but their own. And again he says: some kind of zeal counts all merciful moderations lukewarmness; and had rather be cruel than counted cold, and is not seldom more greedy to kill the bear for his skin, than for any other harm he hath done: The confiscation of men’s estates being more beneficial than the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their errors. And at length concludes, I believe, it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil my other kingdoms, are in a great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping, those horrid effusions of blood in Ireland.

But notwithstanding all the care of that party to misrepresent matters to his Majesty, he was in the very beginning so far informed of the grievances of his Irish subjects, and of the designs laid to ruin them, that to render those projects ineffectual,

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is graciously pleased to order the Lords Justices to issue a proclamation of pardon to all those who would submit in forty days after its publication.

This seemed no less than a thunderbolt, was like to blast all the hopes of the party, ill then promised themselves vast estates by going in those troubled waters, but now must be very disappointed, if the King's orders should effect. To prevent therefore so fatal a blow, at the same time to seem to comply with his Majesty's commands, they issued a proclamation of pardon, yet so that no estate man whatsoever, hardly the meanest peasant, then in arms, could get any benefit by it; for the pardon was only such as were no freeholders, and should repair to Dublin in ten days time, a thing they knew impossible to be done. And to the end that the King might have no further information of the true state of affairs in Ireland, Sir John Keed one of his Majesty's sworn servants, who promised the said Catholics to represent their grievances to his royal master, was seized on by the lords Justices in Dublin, and barbarously tortured upon the rack to squeeze something out of him, whereby they might accuse the Queen, or bring himself, of that insurrection.

These strange and unchristian proceedings, the generality of the kingdom were brought under an apparent necessity, as the Protestants had all along desired and designed, to look to their own safety, and to take arms for their own defence,

See Castlehaven's memoirs. † The conference of Catholics met at Kilkeany.

defence : who therefore assembling themselves at Kilkenny, entered into an association by the name of the Confederate Catholics, of Ireland, and raised some forces in order to preserve their lives from the persecution of their enemies. Yet to vindicate their actions to the world, and throw off the imputation of their designing to rebel against the King, they published a manifesto, wherein they set forth their reasons for taking arms, declaring themselves still faithful subjects to his Majesty, and abhorers of the parliament's proceedings against him ; and for a further demonstration of their loyalty and sincerity, they took themselves, and imposed upon all those of their party, such a new oath of allegiance as did fully express their duty and fidelity to the King, and yet might be taken by Catholics without renouncing any principle of their religion. And afterwards they appointed commissioners to be sent to his Majesty, into England to represent their grievances, and the tyrannical proceedings of the Lords Justices.

• Before I proceed any further it is necessary to examine what I heartily wish for the credit of both parties could be buried in eternal oblivion, that is the many outrages and barbarous murders committed on both sides, during the unhappy war. Neither parties can be excused, but those to be sure are most to blame, who began the tragedy.— It is certain, each of them has laboured to throw the first scene upon the other ; but upon the whole matter, I think it is very plain, that the Protestants were the first actors upon the stage, who im-

mediately upon the discovery of the plot in Dublin, finding there was not many concerned in the northern insurrection but men of desperate fortunes, and apprehending that few estates natives would willingly engage in a rebellion, took what measures they could to provoke and frighten them into it: in order to which design they sent out several parties, as well in remote places as round about * Dublin, who murdered a great many without distinction of age or sex: particularly at Santry, Clontarff, Bullock, all within three or four miles of the City, where they massacred in the beginning of November, 1641, near upon fourscore of the country people; as the garrison of Carrickfergus some days before butchered in one night all the inhabitants of the country called Island Magee, to the number of two or three thousand men, women and children. The like feats were done by the Lord Breghill, late Earl of Orrery, in the counties of Cork, Waterford, and the parts adjacent: by Sir Charles Coote in his expedition into the county of Wicklow; by Captain Peasely Brown and others in the county of Tipperary; and in fine, because it was a general contrivance, by most of the Protestant garrisons of any strength, all over the kingdom.

The Irish who were in arms in Ulster, contained themselves hitherto from doing any more mischief, than plundering and stripping the Protestants

* See narrative of the troubles in Ireland, page 5. And collection of murders committed upon the Irish, Printed at London, Anno 1662, page 1, 8, 9, 15, 19, 23, &c.

tants, without touching the lives of any that did not appear in arms against them, but hearing of the inhuman proceedings aforesaid, they were so far exasperated, that although the leading men amongst them were not so void of humanity as to revenge their countrymen's death upon those that had no hand in their blood, yet the common soldiers took a resolution to use the Protestants in the North no better than the Catholics were treated there, or in the other provinces; and upon this single account many hundreds of lives were on both sides lost in cold blood, each party pretending to revenge the murders committed by the other upon their friends.

It is not yet known how many were thus sacrificed on either side; but too many they were, be they never so few. Sir John Temple's romantic legend, where he draws up his muster rolls of two or three hundred thousands of English Protestants massacred in one province, is not only incredible, but most ridiculous and absolutely impossible; for (to omit that some hundreds, said to have been there slain, were living for many years after, and some of them lived to see the restoration) all known men must own, there was not half that number of Protestants in the whole kingdom in summer 1641, as the aforesaid * author of the Catholic Apology, an English person of honour, who generously took some pains to examine this aspersion, has proved, not only from good reasons, but even from Protestant writers. And concludes upon the whole matter, that all these hundreds of

thousands said to have been murdered in the north could not exceed three thousand. And Sir W. Petty, an Englishman and a Protestant too, who was clerk to the Usurper's Council, and Surveyor-General of the lands in Ireland, an ingenious inquisitive person, affirms, that upon the exactest scrutiny there were not above thirty-six thousand on both sides killed in the field, or murdered in cold blood during the whole war.

However it be, for it stands not with my intended brevity to enter now upon the particulars, * it is manifest there were six times more of the Catholics massacred than of the Protestants, upon that revolution. First, because most of the Protestants, lived at that time in cities, walled towns and castles, which secured them from the fury of the rabble; and the rest, who lived scattered up and down the country, retired in all the haste they could into these towns and places of strength, as soon as the troubles began, and there they continued during the war, or withdrew into England or Scotland; so that few or none of them perished, but such as fell in the very beginning of the confusion; whereas the Catholics being all along exposed in the open country, to the fury of their merciless enemies, were for the space of twelve years together butchered upon all occasions. Secondly, because what was done to the Protestants was committed by the unruly rabble, not only without, but contrary to the orders of their leaders, by whom therefore several of the murderers were hanged for their barbarous doings. But the

Protestants

* More Catholics murdered than Protestants.

Protestants in most places acted their parts by public orders, being commanded not to spare the least child, though but a span long, as Sir Charles Coote, often expressed himself to parties he sent abroad to butcher the Irish. Thirdly, because of the very small number of Catholics executed by the Cromwellians, upon the account of those murders, who had they been three times so many, and all guilty, could not rationally be supposed able to kill any considerable number of Protestants; unless we fancy them so many giants, or truly to answer the characters given in a compliment by the women of Israel, that Saul had killed his thousands, and David his ten thousands; * for, as soon as Ireland was reduced by the usurpers, they erected their pretended high court of justice, wherein all possible enquiries were made all over the kingdom to find out what murders had been committed upon the Protestants during the war, and swarms of witnesses were hired to swear home; but notwithstanding all the noise and clamour of three hundred thousand said to have been massacred in one province only, there were but one hundred and forty Irish, both men and women, (for in this case neither age nor sex was regarded) and but few of them of any note condemned, though their very enemies were their Judges, on pretence of all the murders committed by the Catholics from first to last. And most of those protested at their death, (the only time men ought to be most believed) that they were innocent of the crimes laid to their charge. But if such inquiries had been made on the

the other side, and every murderer of them brought to answer for himself; I dare say the tenth man of the parliamentarians of Ireland could not escape before any just tribunal upon earth, and so sensible was that very party of the truth of this assertion, upon the late King's restoration, that when some Irish Catholics then in London, who took upon them to act there for their countrymen, proposed and pressed that all the murderers on both sides should be excepted out of the act of indemnity, these Protestants guilty consciences so plainly appeared that they could not indure to hear of the proposal, nor think themselves safe till they were assured there was none excepted out of the act but some few regicides, and the Catholics of Ireland.

This in brief is the naked truth of that tragical history, which has raised so great a clamour in the world. The Catholics suffered in much greater number, but dying as it were dumb, like so many sheep brought to the slaughter, their blood made no great noise, at least in England; but the Protestants fell, as I may say, with so many speaking trumpets in their mouths, that every individual seemed an hundred. And it was next to a miracle they were not made some millions, since several millions of inveterate republicans made their daily business to repeat, like so many echoes, the cruelties committed upon their party, though not so much out of any love or pity to those that suffered, as for wicked ends of their own; that is, to defame and run down the King at any rate, to whom with more than diabolical malice, they attributed all these murders; and by that means, and such other Godly contrivances of theirs, murdered him in

in the hearts of his people, long before they brought him to the scaffold.

Neither were the miscreants content with blasting his Majesty's reputation during his life only, but pursued the same malice several years after his death; for in 1653 when they took Sir Phelim O'Neill prisoner, and got him condemned in Dublin by their high court of justice, although they looked upon him at the same time, as the chief promoter of all the murders they fancied to have been committed upon the Protestants in Ulster, which yet was so far from being true, that none could be more severe than himself upon those murderers, of whom he caused several to be hanged for their inhuman dealings; nevertheless, these implacable enemies of kings and kingly government, believing the gentleman undeniably guilty of all this bloodshed, offered him his life in case he would but own that the northern insurrection was acted by commission from King Charles the First. But he like a man of honour choosing rather to die with a safe conscience than basely to redeem his life by belying his innocent Prince in the grave, not only slighted the proposal, but publicly cleared his Majesty, even at the place of execution; As my * Lord Maguire did some nine years before in London, notwithstanding all the offers and endeavours of the RUMP PARLIAMENT.

But to return from this melancholy digression, although the confederate Catholics had thus united themselves for their own preservation, yet they never intended to hold out against the King, or to disown

* See his speech printed Anno. 1644.

disown their allegiance to him; and therefore finding by this time that the war was broke out between the King and parliament in England, and that his Majesty at last thought fit to lay aside their inveterate enemies, the parliametarian Lords Justices, and to appoint the Earl of Ormond Lord-Lieutenant of the kingdom, * they immediately concluded a cessation with him on the 15th of September 1643, and furnished him with thirty thousand eight hundred pounds sterlinc to enable to transport into England the Protestant army then under his command, since to prove himself a more zealous Protestant than a wise or able minister of state, he refused the offer of their Catholic army, and would hardly allow them to send 2000 of their men into Scotland to reinforce the King's party there under the command of the Marquis of Montrose. Soon after, they dispatched the Lord Muskery, Sir Nicholas Plunket, and others, into England to solicit his Majesty for redress of several grievances, relating as well to the Catholic religion, as to their temporal freedoms. These agents after a favourable hearing, were referred back to the Lord-Lieutenant to whom his Majesty at the same time seriously recommended to conclude a peace with the confederate Catholics but pressed him afterwards, more earnestly, by several letters and messages, to make a speedy end of the war of Ireland, declaring that if his Irish subjects would be content with the free exercise of their own religion, and the repeal of Poyning's act, over and above a general amnesty for the past;

• The cessation concluded.

he would think it no hard bargain : adding with all, that he would have a peace concluded with them, whatever it cost.

Ormond nevertheless, proved deaf to all this, and never could be induced, notwithstanding his master's repeated commands, to conclude a peace with the Irish, who earnestly desired it, until the King's affairs were in a manner past retrieve in England, after the battle of Naseby, and the several other losses the royal party sustained that campaign. * Then and not till then, could he be brought to a treaty ; and even in those very circumstances so unwilling he was to put an end to the war, that although the articles were agreed on in March following between him and certain commissioners appointed for that purpose, yet he puts off the exchanging of them for that time, and so deferred it from day to day, until the king finding his army in no condition to keep the field that summer, unfortunately put himself in the beginning of May 1646, into the hands of the Scotch rebels then before Newark, by whom he was soon after prevailed upon to recall, by his letter to Ormond of the 11th of June from Newcastle, all the powers he had formerly given him for concluding a peace with the Irish. The supreme council of the confederate Catholics wondering at these delays, sent at last to Ormond about midsummer, to know his final resolution concerning the peace, who answered, that he could proceed no further, in that treaty because he had received his Majesty's commands to the contrary. Nevertheless

* The treaty called, the peace of 46.

less having upon second thoughts hit upon a new knack of policy for imposing upon the confederates he sends to them in some weeks after, and renewes the treaty ; for he considered, that he might on the one hand proceed to the exchange of the articles and get the peace proclaimed, because he was thereby sure to make himself master of all the strong holds then possessed by the Irish, and on the other hand, that he should not be concluded by it, if he found his interest the other way, because his power was recalled before the articles were exchanged ; and upon this account he proceeds to conclude the peace, and gets it proclaimed in August following.

But the Pope's Nuncio, and the prelates then convened at Waterford, seeing that his Majesty had disowned the Earl of Clanmorgan's commission, and proceedings with them on which they solely relied, as to the affairs of the church, and finding no sufficient provision made in that peace for liberty of conscience or the Catholic Religion, they openly protested against it ; and withal they issued forth a Comminatory Excommunication agaist the acceptors of it, as being guilty of wilful perjury : because in the beginning of their association, an oath * was framed for their better union, and taken by all the confederates, that none of them would accept of any terms of peace, without the consent of the rest, in a general assembly of the whole nation, which ordinarily met once a year, to settle all public affairs. This wrought

* See Castlehaven's Memoirs.

wrought so much upon the officers of the army, and the gentry of the whole kingdom, that the peace was generally rejected; whereupon Ormond, who in hopes of being received, pursuant to the peace, was come as far as Kilkenny, thought convenient to retire hastily to Dublin, soon after the general assembly of the confederates met, where the articles of the peace were fully examined, and after several debates, rejected for the reasons aforesaid; and the commissioners who concluded the same, as having exceeded their commission, were censured and imprisoned.

During these transactions the Scottish army were bargaining with the English parliament about the disposal of the King's person, to whom they sold him at last for two hundred thousand pounds Sterling on the eighth of February, 1646, and in a few months after, Ormond delivers up Dublin, the King's Sword, and all the Ensigns of royalty there, to commissioners from the parliament, for which good service he was presented by them in London with a Chain and Medal of Gold, together with 13000 Lib. Sterl. in money, as the Earl of Anglesey, one of the Commissioners has since publickly averred.

In the mean time the confederate Catholics went on vigorously with the war against the parliamentarians, and possessed themselves entirely of all Ireland, except Dublin and Londonderry; and being informed that the King was made a close prisoner in England, and his son the Prince of Wales

forced to fly into France, whither his Queen had sometime before withdrawn herself, they sent the Marquis of Antrim to Lord Muskerry, agents thither to signify to the Queen and Prince their willingness to conclude a peace, in order to contribute what in them lay to free the King from his misfortunes; whereupon Ormond who happened to be there at that time, returns into Ireland, about Michaelmas 1648, and concludes the peace with the general assembly of the confederates on the 17th of January following, commonly called the peace of 48.

This peace was immediately received by all the confederate Catholics, except a small party headed by Owen Roe O'Neil, who being only a soldier of fortune but confessedly the best commander they had in the kingdom, held out, because they unadvisedly refused to give him any considerable post in the army, until Ormond after he was shamefully surprised and routed before Dublin, * and Cromwell landing there in a few weeks after, with a strong reinforcement, was glad to give his own terms when it was too late; whereupon he and his party submitted to the peace, pursuant to a special treaty concluded on the 12th of the ensuing October, and then all the confederates joined heart and hand, against the parliamentarians: but Owen Roe unfortunately dying soon after, there was none left able to make head against Cromwell; who therefore carried all before him wherever he went, with little or no opposition, but what Hugh duff

O F I R E L A N D.

Duff O'Neil gave him at Clonmel, where he had
near as many men as he did in gaining the rest
the kingdom, and would have lost a great man
more, and gone at last without it, had not the
people of Waterford failed to send the garrison
ammunition, as they promised:

Nevertheless, the confederates struggled hard
the last, and though they were offered most of the
estates and other advantageous terms, as the ca-
then stood, by the Rump Parliament, if they would
submit to them and renounce the king's interest ; yet
they unanimously rejected all in their general assem-
ly at Loughrea, in winter 1650, and never laid down
arms until they were reduced to an impossibility
continuing the war any longer, in the year 1653.

The most of the army, choosing rather to quit
their native country, than to live under the Usur-
er's power : and withal, being resolved to spend
the remainder of their days in their prince's service,
made conditions to go into foreign countries espe-
cially France and Spain ; and the rest, who by
reason of their age, charge, or sickness, were ne-
cessitated to stay behind, suffered extremely. For
the common soldiers and great numbers of the po-
country people were sold by wholesale for slaves
into the West-Indies, to the number of fifteen or
twenty thousand souls : and the officers with the
rest of the Catholic gentry of the kingdom, were
all commanded over the river Shannon, into the
province of Connaught and county of Clare,
thence not to return upon pain of death, without
special licence, where they were daily exposed to
all manner of insolence, oppression, and cruelty
from the petty tyrants domineering over them.

Cromwell in the mean time, whether in hopes to gain upon the Irish, or at least to make some show of his inclination to justice, ordered a court of claims to be erected at Athlone, where all Catholics that could prove themselves innocent of the rebellion, or came within such qualifications as he prescribed, were allowed for their subsistence, to enjoy certain proportions of land in the said province of Connaught and county of Clare, that is, some a fourth, others a third part, according to their several qualifications, and some few, perhaps, the one half of the number of acres they were elsewhere possesst of in 1641; yet the said petty tyrants were not well pleased at this small favour, but to the contrary believing that their own ill acquisitions could not be secure of lasting, while the former proprietors were in being, they often consulted among themselves, and were within an ameace of resolving to massacre them all at one pull, men, women and children; which they had certainly done, but that the over ruling hand of Providence averted the blow,

In this most dismal condition the Irish continued for several years, racked with daily apprehensions of the dangers that hung over their heads, and having no comfort under Heaven but the hopes to see the happy day of their prince's restoration, which they doubted not but would redeem them from their present captivity; and besides restore them to the inheritance of their father's estates. But how far they were deceived; and disappointed of these their reasonable hopes, shall be the subject of another discourse.

The

THE GENUINE History of Ireland.

THE SECOND PART.

The King that faithfully judgeth the Poor, his Throne shall be established for ever. PROV. 29, 14.

Woe to them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgement, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless. ISAH. 10,

IN the foregoing discourse we have taken a short view of the several Revolutions, that have happened in Ireland, from the first year of Queen Elizabeth's to the last of Cromwell's Usurpation; during which time we have partly seen how religion was made a stalking horse to violence and rapine, and gospel liberty turned into all manner of licentiousness; whereby the men in power might oppress and plunder their neighbours, without any more concern or remorse, than if they had the same warrant from heaven which the Israelites received by the hands of Moses, to run away with the spoil of the Ægyptians.

Upon the whole matter, I think it very evident

that • Tyrone's taking arms was so far from being a Rebellion either by the laws of God, or the fundamental laws of the land, that it was rather a necessary self-defence against the unwarrantable attempts of Queen Elizabeth, who had not only usurped the crown upon Queen Mary of Scotland, but also endeavoured after an arbitrary manner to encroach upon the people's civil and religious rights, contrary to all laws both human and divine. And as for that Earl's having in King James's time fled out of the kingdom upon St Lawrence's treacherous information, it may be reckoned a sin against prudence, which may oblige an honest man to stand to the defence of his own innocence, honor and reputation, even with the hazard of his life, but it cannot be called a treasonable crime, or an act that proved him guilty of having had ill designs against the crown. Nevertheless, since there was one positive, though in reality a perjured witness to swear to the accusation ; and that both he and the Earl of Tyrconnel fled for the same ; it must be owned that there was grounds enough for attainting them by act of parliament, which could not legally have been done, had they stayed and stood their trial.

But as to the insurrection of + 1641, there is no doubt but the letter of the law makes it rebellion, for subjects under a lawful monarch, whether jointly or severally considered, are still by our laws but

so

* Tyrone's war no rebellion. + The troubles 41, not so criminal in the Irish, as in their neighbours.

so many private persons, and therefore can never take upon themselves any public authority without a special commission from the prince. Yet if we appeal to the supreme court of enquiry, and there consider the nature of man, and all the provoking circumstances of that business, together with the powerful instinct of self-preservation, called by the Romans * “Orator, non scripta, sed nata Lex, “ ad quam non docti sed sancti, non instituti, sed-“ imbuti sumus,” a great deal may be said at least to excuse their proceedings; which in comparison of the bare faced causeless rebellion, carrying on that same time by the English and Scotch republicans, not only against the King’s authority and commission, but even against his sacred person, and the very being of the monarchy, cannot seem but a very slender pécadillo, which bears no more proportion to the other, than does the smallest Molehill to the Pike of Teneriffe. For there never was under a legal government any insurrection more necessary for self-preservation, and consequently more excusable, if we except the aforesaid outrages committed by the unruly rabble, than this of 41, and on the other side, no subjects ever laboured more to retrieve what the rigour of the law might constitute amiss in their actions, than the Irish Catholics have done. They held out but about twenty two months, and in all that time they never intended to stand out against the King, but to secure themselves against the Parliamentarian Lords Justices; who did so plainly abuse his Majesty’s authority,

to the prejudice of himself and of his loyal subjects in that kingdom, and in favour of rebels in England, that the Irish believed they could not do the King better service than to oppose them, and thereby prevent their doing any more mischief. For proof hereof, as soon as these justices were removed, the confederate Irish made a cessation with the earl of Ormond, in order to the conclusion of a lasting peace, which was equally wished for both by prince and people; but these good wishes, through the sinister practices of some intermediate agents, or some other fatalities, became abortive for that time.

Nevertheless a solemn peace was at last concluded, on the 17th day of January, 1648-9, which the Irish not only received unanimously, but sealed it with their blood; having pursuant to it, maintained a war against the Parliamentarian Regicides for three years successively; and when all their strong holds were lost, continued a mountain war, for a year after, in hopes of receiving some relief from the King. But that expectation failing, they were obliged at length to lay down arms; yet because they could not endure to live under the tyranny of those miscreants, who had imbrued their hands in their prince's blood, most of them made conditions to go beyond sea, and accordingly some got into France, others into Spain, in all to the number of twenty-five or thirty thousand effective men: and forasmuch, as their main design was to render their sovereign that service abroad, which they were no longer able to do at home, they no sooner landed in foreign countries, than they flocked

locked from all parts as fast they could, to attend their prince's commands. For this reason they quitted the Spanish service while the King remained in France, but quitted the French, as soon as he thought fit to retire into the Spanish Netherlands. And very certain it is that this flocking of the Irish about his Majesty, at that time, when he was in a manner abandoned by all the rest of his subjects, rendered him much the more considerate among strangers, and gained him most of his bread during the dismal time of his banishment.

* This is the Truth not to be denied by any man in his wits, for there is still many living witnesses of it ; and the King himself soon after his restoration, partly owned it in his speech to the Parliament, on the 27th, of July, 1660, when he expresses himself in these words, " I hope, I need say nothing of Ireland, that they alone should be without the benefit of my mercy ; they have shewed much affection to me abroad, and you will have a care of my honour, and of what I have promised to them." And again on the 30th of November following, in his declaration for the Settlement of Ireland, he says. " In the last place we did and must always remember, the great affection a considerable part of that nation expressed to us, during the time of our being beyond the seas ; when with all cheerfulness and obedience they received and submitted to our orders, and betook themselves to that service, which we directed as most convenient and behoofful, at time to us, though attended with inconveni-

" ence enough to themselves, which demeanor or
 " theirs cannot but be thought very worthy of our
 " protection, justice and favour.

Let us now consider on the other side, what great protection, justice or favour have the Irish received for all their unparalleled loyalty, thus owned and attested by the King himself in the face of the world. The main question was then whether the Cromwellians, who like so many blood hounds hunted Charles the first to the scaffold, and chased Charles the second out of his dominions, should still enjoy the estates they got in Ireland; for those their signal services against the crown ; or be obliged to surrender them to their former proprietors, who had signalized their loyalty in so extraordinary a manner, and had lost the said estates for their faithful adherence to the royal interest, and besides were most justly entitled to them by the public faith of a solemn peace at home, and the King's repeated promises abroad:

It is true, his majesty did in the beginning express himself very resolute for doing * justice to the latter, but the craft and corruption of some grantees about him wrought upon him by degrees to give way, and at last to abandon those to their enemies, who never abandoned him in his greatest misfortunes † Be astonished O ye Heavens at this ! for, was there ever any act parallel to it read, or heard of since the creation ? an act so little becoming a great and generous prince, so contrary to common justice, and the most sacred ties of human

* Of the injustice done to the Irish: † Jer. 2, 23.

human societies ; and withal so impolitic, as entailing perpetual factions and rebellions upon his successors, by the hopes it gives to desperate needy people to make their fortunes the same way, and by the moral damp it strikes upon loyalty ; so prodigious an example of ingratitude being a sufficient warning piece to others not to venture their all upon the like account, that it shocks a man's understanding to think what could be the drift or meaning of it.

Histories indeed furnish us with examples enough how Princes have often found it necessary for the ease and quiet of their dominions, to Pardon their submitting Rebels and thereby restore them to their former possessions, and perhaps with some marks of favour ; nay sometimes to discharge them of their subjection, and declare them a free people, when they would not otherwise be quiet, as the King of Spain has lately done to the Dutch : and there is no doubt, but a sovereign may lawfully do all this, because in such cases he himself is the only loser ; and may part with his own right when he pleases, or at least, when the necessities of his affairs require it. But that a King should offer not only to pardon and reward the rebels upon their returning to their duty, but to reward them with the birth-right of such as adhered to him to the last, with the hazard of their lives and limbs, against those very rebels, is so unaccountable a procedure, that we can find no example or precedent for it in any history either sacred or profane.

But the King (says one) could in policy do no less,

less, considering what great numbers of his subjects were then disaffected to his Government, and the great arrears due to the army in Ireland, which he promised to pay. Very fine policy indeed! must policy then, which is the quintessence of refined reason, and of all moral perfections the noblest and most heroic, be thus profaned and debased, to daub or gild over the failures of vicious or misled prince's policy: which, in the true art of Government, was even among the heathens reckoned so great and so excellent a quality; that the prince of Latin poets thought he could not bestow a higher compliment upon his country than to make it peculiar to the Romans, in the sixth book of the Eneid, when he speaks to this purpose:

While others may in other arts excell,
Romans, mind you and govern nations well;
To give the laws of peace belongs to you,
To spare the humble and the proud subdue.

But among Christians, who boast indeed of greater perfection, and yet happen very often to practice less this noble and sublime virtue, is made a cloak for all the corruptions of depraved nature; and is dwindled away into little tricks and cunning fetches, to serve a present turn, without the least regard to honour, honesty, or conscience. Insomuch, that Henry the IV. of France had reason to say, (only that out of modesty he reckoned himself, but in truth had too great a soul, to be of the number) "Nons autres Rois somes des grands Coquins." Let us nevertheless, consider this evasion a little further.

further. If it was so very politic to continue the parliamentarians of Ireland in their new acquisitions, for exasperating the disaffected party, why were not their brethren in England and Scotland continued in theirs also for the same reason? Or was that party in Ireland so very formidable, beyond those of the other kingdoms, that their friendship must be purchas'd at such an extravagant rate. If the King obliged himself by his declaration from Breda, to satisfy the arrears due to the officers and soldiers under the command of General Monk; why might not this as well be done in Ireland by public Taxes, as well as in the other kingdoms, without stripping such a vast number of poor widows and orphans, (whose cry reaches daily to Heaven) of their livelihood, and so many thousands of loyal gentlemen of their antient birth-right, contrary to public faith, and the undoubted interest of the crown.

No, this plain and palpable injustice, cannot be called the effect of any policy in the King; for nothing could be more impolitic or more contrary to his honour and interest: but it was a formed design of some of his ministers, and other leading men; who then pretended to be zealous converts to loyalty, and yet like Aesop's cat, could not forget the old trade of mousing. For, the true reason why the Irish were so unequally dealt with, was that they were all Catholics, never tainted with any republican principles, and not only had much diverted the parliamentarian forces, while they were running down the King, but had given him strong apprehensions of quite turning the scales. It was there-

therefore determined by these Machiavels, as a point of the last consequence for securing their ends, that such people should now be suppressed; (for which reason the poor cavaliers were sent a grazing with Nebuchadnezar, without either pay, or valuable gratuity) lest they might be in a condition, for the time to come, to stand up against their party for the rights of the crown, in case of any future revolution. And the plot being thus laid, the better to compass it without a noise, a parcel of needy half-starved courtiers that followed the King abroad, and had his ear at will, several of them being his chief privy counsellors and privadoes, were gained by great promises, either of large scopes of Irish land, or round sums of English money, to join in the design; who therefore buzzing night and day in his Majesty's ear, wrought upon him at last to grant their desires, to the ruin of the Irish Catholics, whose religion, lands and loyalty were crimes too great to be endured by atheistical, covetous rebels.

The King then is blameless, you will say, since he followed the advice of his council and chief courtiers. Very far from it: for as our Saviour says, if the blind lead the blind both shall fall into the ditch • that is, not only the guide, but the guided likewise must suffer; and consequently not only the ill adviser, but the advised also, is answerable for the wrongs committed. had God indeed appointed such counsellors for him to advise with, a great deal might be said in his behalf, although

although when old Adam offered a plea much to that purpose, † alleging that what the wise God had gained him, made him eat of the forbidden fruit, it is believed that this plea did rather aggravate, than abate any thing of his guilt. But when a prince has it in his own power, and consequently is, in justice to himself and his people, obliged to chuse to the best of his skill and knowledge, honest and conscientious counsellors, to advise with; if he does to the contrary, his following their dictates is so far from excusing him, that he is accountable in the sight of God both for their unjust advice, and his own bad choice. For by this he exposes himself to evident danger of being misled, and he that loves the danger, saith the son of Syrach, shall perish therein. And as for the other part, I think it is no great matter for one whether he marches towards Hell of his own mere motion, or is led thither by others, if he arrives there at the long run.

A prince therefore who seriously minds his business and has God before his eyes, must not as to the weighty affairs of his Government, rely upon the bare opinion of frail men, though never so able or learned; because they are still subject to be biassed the wrong way; but ought rather to weigh or carefully examine, the grounds and reasons of such opinions, and not suffer his own judgment to be overborne, at least in matters of moment, more by others importunities than their argument; as King Charles the first expresses it,

in

in his Icon Basilike, • where he reflects on some fatal mistakes of this kind committed by himself. For reason being a beam of the divinity, has of itself no false bias but tends always towards truth; as the seaman's needle does to the north pole; so that it is not very difficult for a serious enquirer to distinguish between true and apparent reasons, in matters right and wrong, when both are plainly laid before him. But if instead of making a due enquiry into the truth, he hears only one party, or leaves the decision of justice to a sort of lottery, as a gamester ventures his guineas at hazard; there is no reasoning in that case, but to leave him to take his chance, whether he shall be miserable or happy, whether Heaven or Hell shall be his portion.

† Yet this is not to be understood, as if the punishment of public injustice were always reserved for the world to come; for we find that even in this life, signal judgments have fallen very often upon such offenders, though not so frequently upon themselves as upon their posterity, even to

the

“ I resolved to reform, that I should by free
and full advice in parliament, be convinced to be
amiss and to grant whatever my reason and con-
science told me was fit to be desired, I wish I
had kept myself within those bounds and not suf-
fered my own judgment to have been overborne
in some things, more by others importunities than
their arguments, my confidence had less betray-
ed myself and my kingdoms to those advantages,
which some men sought for, who wanted nothing
but power, and occasions to do mischief,’ Icon Basil.
‘ Chap. I. † Public injustice cries for public vengeance

the third and fourth generation : of which we have a most remarkable instance in the case of the Gibeonites, * who by a plain trick surprised Joshua into a promise of sparing their lives ; and when that was discovered, were content to become hewers of wood and drawers of water to the Israelites, rather than be quite extirpated : nevertheless, when King Saul (out of a very good motive, in appearance, that is, out of zeal to the children of Israel † as it is expressly remarked in the holy scriptures) took an occasion to destroy these miserable slaves, although himself and his Son Jonathan came soon after to an untimely end ‡ yet so far was that heavy judgment from satisfying the Divine justice, that in King David's time the hand of God came upon the whole country, for three years together, and was not taken off, until seven of Saul's posterity were sacrificed, to atone for, the cruelties by him committed upon the poor Gibeonites, contrary to the public faith given them by Joshua. There is no doubt but God is infinitely merciful, and it is well for us all, that he is so ; yet he does not pardon all crimes alike ; for private or personal offences he is very apt to forgive upon a sincere repentance, but national injuries he never forgets without a full and ample reparation.

But enough of this point at present, † let us now take a view of the very machine, which has completed the mystery of iniquity, I mean the wicked acts of settlement. The settlement indeed of rebels

* Joshua, 3, 4, 15. † Sam. 21, 1, 2. ‡ The art of settlement partly anatomized.

" peace to those, who had honestly and faithfully
" performed what they had promised to us."

On the other side, the Cromwellians and their hired partizans at court, finding the King so resolute in the matter, and not daring directly to oppose such honourable and king-like intentions, seemed to go along with him in the same sentiments, but as they went this politic Tour A-la-mode, they cunningly contrived to put such rube in his way, as brought him insensibly to their own point: for, in the first place, they made his majesty believe, and laid it as a fundamental maxim, that there were forfeited lands more than enough in Ireland to satisfy all just pretenders: then they represented, it was but reasonable that the new interest protestants should be first provided for; at least, that they should be settled next after the innocent papists. And these two points being granted, and established as the foundation of the whole fabric, the wildest sectaries and rankest fanatics in the three kingdoms, who had nothing of Christianity but the name, having always been as atheistical in religion, as antimonarchical in reverence to government, became all of a sudden under this Protestant cloak, the darlings of both church and state. A most blessed reformation.

No, these Protestants, who were thus to be secured of new estates in Ireland, were likewise of three sorts: † first the adventurers, who for dog-diccap bargains of Irish lands advanced several

* Irish statutes, page 506. † The adventurers title.

ral sums of money in London upon the credit of the acts 17 and 18 Caroli, for reducing the rebels in that kingdom: the most part of which money, instead of its being sent into Ireland, was employed by the rebel parliament to raise that army, which sought the King at Edgehill, and that by the adventurers own consent, then sitting at Grocer's hall. This was no secret, but so well known to King Charles the first, who caused it to be objected to the parliament commissioners, at the treaty of Uxbridge, that in all his proposals and treaties of pacification with the confederate Irish, he never made the least mention of the adventurers titles to any lands in that Kingdom, which certainly so just a prince, as he was known to be, would never have passed in silence; had he believed there lay the least obligation upon him by the said acts for to make any provision for that interest. And King Charles the second was no less sensible of the nullity of their title, as appears by his very declaration, where he says, " In the first place, in order to a settlement of that interest claimed by the adventurers, although the present estates and possessions they enjoy, if they were examined by the strict letters of the law, would prove very defective and invalid, as being no ways pursuant to those acts of parliament, upon which they pretended to be founded, &c."

Nevertheless, let their crimes be never so great and their title never so invalid, never so unreasonable, secured they must be in all their possessions,

and

and not only such advantages as advanced their money upon the credit of the aforesaid statutes, but even those of all doubling ordinance, who, upon the bare votes or orders of the rump-parliament, zealously advanced very considerable sums, on purpose to carry on that horrible rebellion against the King in England, are • put upon an equal foot with the former, and both secured of large estates, for one or two years purchase.

† Secondly, Cromwell's soldiers, to whom indeed that tyrant was much obliged, because they, with the rest of their tribe in England, raised him from a mean condition to be absolute master of three kingdoms, for which service he gave twelve entire counties of Ireland, to be divided among them; yet this he intended only by way of mortgage, until their arrears were paid; for he never would give them any sort of letter patent for those estates, or any other grant than during pleasure; which the soldiers knew so well, that as fast as they could find purchasers, they sold their interest for a song, and others became rich by the bargain; because now by the declaration, they and their assigns are secured in their possessions, which are settled upon them, not for any limited time, but to them and their heirs for ever. A very noble reward indeed from a king for fighting against his crown, when those that fought for it to the last, were stript and sent a begging. A reward which these rebels could never expect from Cromwell himself, who designed after a while to dispose of these

* Irish Stat. page 559. The Debenturer's title

these twelve counties, for other ends of his own, and certainly he could not but dispose of them to better purpose than the declaration has done.

* Thirdly, the officers who had served the King in Ireland at any time before the fifth of June 1649, whose arrears were summed up by themselves to eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterl. And this most extravagant bill of accompts, whereof the tenth part could not be possibly due, was very readily allowed of by the adventurers and soldiers, whose maxim was, claw me, and I will claw you. For they wisely considered, that several of these forty-nine officers had some colour of merit, while themselves had none at all to pretend; and for that reason, they thought it necessary to bring them into play, in order to give the better gloss to their proceedings, and to strengthen their interest. In consideration thereof, and of the said pretended arrears, (while the brave and truly loyal cavaliers of England received besides the noisy grant of a ridiculous lottery, but seventy thousand pounds for all their faithful services during the war, and their great sufferings under the usurpation) our forty nine officers were most liberally allowed all the forfeited lands of four counties, and within a mile of the Shannon or of the Sea, in the province of Connaught, and county of Clare, and all the forfeited houses and tenements, in the several walled Towns and Corporations in the kingdom, not already set out to adventurers or soldiers, together with the right of redemption of mortgages, statutes staple, judgments

* The 49 officers title.

judgments, &c. belonging to Catholics, and over and above all this, a hundred thousand pounds sterling, in ready money upon a very frivolous account. Although it was well known, that most of these officers, thus bountifully rewarded, either were in actual rebellion, in Summer, 1649, and for many years before, as the Earl of Orrery, Earl of Mount-rath, Lord Kingston, Lord Coloony, Sir Theophilus Jones, Sir Oliver St. George, Sir John Cole, and several others, or did soon after desert the King's army and join with the usurper; for which good service they were gratefully recompensed by Cromwel, with large debenture lands, or other equivalent gratuities. Yet this signified nothing against them upon his Majesty's restoration, for not only such of the said forty-nine officers as deserted the King's standard, but even those who were treacherously instrumental in the betraying of several considerable towns and garrisons into the Usurper's hands, were by the act of settlements allowed their forty nine arrears, if within two years after the act, they could make appear to the chief government of Ireland, and any six of the council, that they made some repair for their former faults, by their timely and seasonable appearance for the King's restoration. And ye may be sure, very slight repairs were thought sufficient to atone for those venial slips of our reformed saints, for, even as in John Calvin's new system of divinity, Let the Elect commit never so great Enormities they are still blameless, still Babes

of

of grace, because no sin can be imputed to them. So it seems, let our godly reformers be engaged every moon in the blackest treason imaginable, they must pass, nevertheless, for his Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, and never be treated like rebels, but rather highly rewarded, as if they had done their prince good service. But the reprobate Papists are still to be damned as to this world, let them be never so innocent, and signalize their loyalty never so much. And therefore, although the declaration † made no distinction of forty nine officers, whether Protestant or Papist, but ordered that all should be satisfied equally for their arrears: yet ‡) by the instructions, and subsequent acts of parliament, the Papist (except the Marquis of Clanrikard and Sir George Hamilton, who through favour, got particular provisoës § were utterly excluded, notwithstanding that none of them ever deserted the King's standard, but held out to the last against the usurper.

The late King being thus far wrought and strangely imposed upon, to reward his inveterate enemies, who now became great by being thorough paced rebels, it is needless to wonder that he has made no better provision for his known friends. Yet certain it is, that his Majesty was so far from intending to deprive the Catholics of Ireland of their birth-right, that he was fully resolved at first to do them all the justice imaginable; and would have certainly done it, but that he was perfidiously

D circumvented

* Irish statutes, page, 509. † Ibid, page, 588.
‡ Ibid. page, 8 Ibid. page 879. 888.

circumvented by those he confided in; who, notwithstanding all their pretended loyalty, did always prefer their own ends before their prince's interest, and therefore took all possible care to obstruct his Majesty's good intentions towards his Irish subjects.

* And, in the first place, because the Innocents were the only Catholics restorable without previous reprisals; they framed ten or eleven qualifications to render in a manner impossible for any Irish Catholics to be adjudged innocent, and got the same inserted in his Majesty's instruction for the execution of the said declaration; as the ground work of all their proceedings. In the very first of these qualifications it is established; "That none should be restored as an innocent papist, who being of full age and sound memory, enjoyed his estate real or personal in the rebels quarters," by which clause only we may easily judge of the rest; and discover what little justice the Irish were to expect. For, upon this account not only those that lived peaceable in the country, and never took up arms either on the one side or other, but also such of them as were actually in the King's service in England, if they received but the least benefit out of their estates in Ireland at any time during the war, were to be deemed noxious and their estates conferred upon those, who at the same time zealously fought against the King.

Of the court of claims and qualifications of innocent claimants. Ibid page, 525.

For the trial of these innocents under the several qualifications aforesaid, a court of claims was erected in Dublin, just after the model framed by Cromswell, in the year 1654 for the transplantees of Connaught and the county of Clare, with this only difference, that the Usurper's court was much the more impartial of the two. For, in the first, whether, the Cromwellians wanted money to suborn witnesses, or were not so well acquainted with the profligate wretches, who were ready to earn their bread with the sweat of their conscience, few of those mercenary villians were produced, in comparison of the latter, where they appeared in great shoales, and wanted not the countenance and favour of the court. And in the former, the few Catholics that moved for a transplanted interest, were not stinted in point of time to make out their claims; but in the latter, six months were hardly allowed for hearing all the claimants in the kingdom. For the court sat but on the 15th Day of February, 1662-3, and ended about the middle of August following, during which time near upon a thousand Catholics came to a tryal, and no less than the one half were decreed innocents. Notwithstanding all the rigid qualifications and suborned witnesses against them, who appeared in such swarms, that it would require a large volume to give up a summary account of all their villainous practices upon this occasion; for which reason I think it needless to descend to particulars. Yet one instance I cannot omit, because the gentleman himself is still in being, and at this time in France, and has at least one living witness of the injustice

done him now at the court of St. Germain, Mr. Francis Betagh of Moynalty, whose ancestors for seven or eight hundred years together were in the possession of a considerable estate in the county of Meath, was but nine years of age in October 41; yet he, was sworn in the court of claims, to have been then in actual rebellion at the head of a foot company; plundering and stripping the Protestants, and that by two of the meanest scoundrels of the whole kingdom, hired for that purpose, whereof one was then and there proved not to have been three years old at the time of that insurrection; and the other no way qualified to be believed, when the gentry of the whole country declared and testified the contrary. Nevertheless, upon the bare oaths of these fellows, the gentleman was adjudged indent by the court, and although the perjury was afterwards more fully detected, in so much, that Sir Richard Ransford (chief commissioner or judge of the court) where the Marchioness of Antrim expostulated the matter with him, plainly acknowledged the injustice of it to herself, to the new Earl of Limerick, and to other persons of quality, yet no redress could be had for the gentleman nor any remedy to be expected, while the enchantment of the act of settlement was of force.

By these abominable practices some hundreds of ancient and loyal gentlemen were stript of their birth right, being thus incurably infected by the poisonous breath of profligate wretches: but the matter

matter of 7000 * claimants more than remained; could not obtain even so much justice or satisfaction as to have this very chance of the inheritance of their fatheres. For although they had as much right to be heard as the other, because every one is to be reputed innocent, until he is proved the contrary; yet they were then put off for want of time, and never allowed any sort of tryal from that day to this; but rather to cut off all future hopes, a new act was soon after framed, called the act of explanation, very remarkable for the following clause, by which they are for ever debarred: " It is here-
 " by declared, that no person or persons, who by
 " the qualifications in the said former act hath not
 " been adjudged innocent, shall at any time here-
 " after be reputed innocent, so as to claim any lands
 " or tenements hereby vested, or be admitted to
 " have any benefit or allowance of any future ad-
 " judication of innocence, or any benefit of arti-
 " cles whatsoever." †

After this unchristian, or rather inhuman usage to so many thousands of innocent persons who are thus condemned unheard, a practice never known amongst any civilized heathens, it cannot seem very strange that the loyal ensign men were ungratefully dealt with, for all their signal services and sufferings during the King's exile. It is true, his majesty was resolved, as I hinted before, to do justice to all his Irish subjects, especially his ensign-men and some other meriting persons, for whom he caused a particular proviso to be inserted in the

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declaration. But the cabal to render his good intention ineffectual, having first possessed his majesty with the fancy, that he had forfeited lands more than enough in Ireland to satisfy all just pretenders, obtained the small favour of their dear adventurers and soldiers, who were undoubtedly very worthy men in old Shaftsbury's dialect, that they should not be removed for any ensign men, or meriting persons whatsoever, before they were assigned reprizals of equal value, worth and purchase; which they well knew, was not to be had in Europe, as matters were managed, unless Obrasile was discovered or a new Ireland created.— And having gained that main point, which proved a padlock upon all the favours intended by the King for the aforesaid loyalists, they got this wonderful reason to pass for it in the declaration: "the Irish for whom we do hereby intend satisfaction, are such who have been abroad with us, who probably being not furnished with stock or other provisions, may with less inconvenience wait for a reprizal, than to dispossess others," (who no doubt had by that time well feathered their nests, by their ill-got estates, though poor enough, as became such pitiful mechanics, coming out of England) especially, since we are fully assured that a very short time will assign them their respective reprizals; there being so good and large proportions of undisposed forfeited lands in our power, reserved for this purpose,* which sublime fancy is in plain English, to this effect:

because

* Irish statutes page, 517.

because the Cromwellians of Ireland are of late used to fare very well, having acquired by fighting against me, plentiful estates and considerable stocks to live upon, it is not convenient to disturb them; but my ensign-men have quitted all at home, and chearfully endured starving, and several other hardships, to serve me abroad, it is reasonable therefore they should starve on, until I provide for them on Doomsday in the afternoon.*

I must confess, I cannot possibly believe that the late King intended to use these loyalists after so strange a manner; but that they were actually served so, is most certain and undeniable. Neither can any Prince who suffers himself to be led by such wicked Counsellors, reasonably expect ever to do better.

Now as soon as the cabal had gained this single point, that the adventurers and soldiers should not be removed without previous reprizals, their next great business was, to take care that no reprizals should be left, and consequently none of the said meriting persons ever restored; to the end that this usage might for the future prove an encouragement to their own party to pursue their good old cause, and a warning piece to others not to play the fool for loyalty.

† To compleat therefore so martial a project, matters were so cunningly contrived by them, that all the undisposed forfeited lands were give away in most prodigal grants to Ormond, Anglesey, Orrery, Coote, Kingston and other grandees; and great

* Irish statutes page 517. † Grantees obtain unreasonable grants.

great portions for pious uses forsooth, to make themselves friends of the Mammon* of unrighteousness, of which the College of Dublin, and several Free-Schools, their Bishops, and others of their clergy had considerable shares, besides a great many gifts and grants to others who were no way qualified by the declaration to have any such provision made for them. And all this was industriously carried on, as I hinted before, to the end that the stock of reprizals might be so far exhausted, that nothing should be left to reprise the Cromwellians, who without such reprizals were not to budge, or quit their possession of those gentlemen's estates, whom the King intended to restore, either as officers that served him abroad, or special proviso-men, or as persons entitled to the peace of forty-eight; which wicked contrivance took so effectually, that not one man of all these were restored to his birth-right, notwithstanding all the fair promises given, and the seeming provision made for them by the declaration: insomuch that fifty-four Nominies (who by special interest and favour got a proviso in the act of explanation † to have their respective mansion-houses or principal seats, and 2000 acres of land thereunto adjoining) found themselves Nominies in good earnest, that is Nomine restorable non re, according to Orrery's Iratical railery: for evry few of them got any considerable advantage, and none at all that ever I could find, the full benefit of that clause, for want of reprizals to be first assigned to the Cromwellian possessors

* Luke 16. p. † Irish Stat. page 863.

possessors. And to make them all set their hearts at rest, and rather to deprive them of their very hopes, the * clause formerly mentioned was inserted in the famous act of explanation, which debars them for ever of all future relief. And as a further addition to their comfort, these mighty Solons well knowing that they observe neither law nor gospel in their proceedings, but that their whole fabric was a mere Babel, composed of so many strange incoherencies, palpable absurdities, and irreconcileable contradictions, that the ablest lawyers in England often declared, they knew not how to ground an opinion in law upon such sandy foundations, found the way at last to make all this mist appear as clear for their purpose as the Sun at noon-day, and that with as much ease as the Macedon youth untied the Gordian knot. For they only declared and enacted, that if any doubt should arise on any clause in either of the said acts, the same should be always construed in favour of the Protestants, as being principally intended to be settled and secured. †

This was going through stitch with the business, and it was indeed the finishing stroke of the whole work, which has completed the mystery of Iniquity beyond all manner of dispute, and left the poor Catholics no room to demand or expect justice, at least from Cromwellian judges and juries.

Thus were these unfortunate loyalists utterly disappointed, notwithstanding their great hopes reasonably grounding on their many services to the King both

* Irish Stat. page 800. † Irish Stat. page 828.

both at home and abroad, and his Majesty's repeated promise to them upon that account; and after all their tedious and chargeable attendance about court, no other provision was made for them but to live upon the air, till God was pleased to call both them and their King to state their accompts in the other world; where, I am sure starved honesty is of greater value, than the empire of the universe, either ill acquired, or unjustly administered, because as King Charles the first most excellently words it, as many kingdoms as the devil shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them (if they could be at once enjoyed) are not worth the gaining, by ways of sinful ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a soul-worth more worlds than this hath kingdoms.* For it is a true saying, Deus non irridetur.† God is not to be laughed at by worldly greatness, but is rather provoked to deal more severely with sovereign princes for their injustice, because they are accountable to none for their actions, but to himself alone, for which reason, the royal prophet thus very pathetically speaks to the Almighty. Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law,‡ but his wise son King Solomon, while inspired by the Holy Ghost, treats more fully of the matter in his admirable book of wisdom. Cap. VI. where he says "iniquity shall lay waste the whole "earth, and ill dealing overthrow the thrones of "the mighty." Hear therefore, O ye Kings and "understand; learn ye, that the judges of the end

" of

* Icon. Basil. chap. 5. † Gal. 6. 7. ‡ Psal. 94. 20.

" of the earth. Give hear, you that rule the people,
" and glory in the multitude of nations. For
" the power is given you of the Lord; and sovereig-
" nty from the highest, who shall try your works,
" and search out your counsels, because being mi-
" nisters of this kingdom, you have not judged
" aright, nor kept the law, nor walked after the
" counsel of God; horribly and speedily shall he
" come upon you; for a sharp judgment shall be
" to them that be in high places. For mercy will
" soon pardon the meanest, but the mighty shall be
" mightily tormented. For he which is Lord over
" all, shall fear no man's person, neither shall he
" stand in awe of any man's greatness; for he hath
" made the small and the great, and careth for all
" alike."

The consideration of this necessary point of Christian doctrine, which mainly concerns all men in power, but more particularly sovereign princes, made King Charles the first express himself so feelingly about Strafford's illegal attainder; "I am so far," says he,* "for excusing or denying that compliance on my part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in my judgment I thought not, by any clear law guilty of death, that I never bear any touch of conscience with greater regret, which as sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and man, as an act of sinful frailty, that discovered more a fear of man than of God, whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconvenience of state

" by

" by acts of so high injustice, as no public convenience can expiate, or compensate. Nor has God's justice failed in the event and sad consequences to shew the world the fallacy of that maxim." Better one man perish though unjustly, than the people be displeased or destroyed. "This tenderness and regret I find in my soul, for having had any hand, (and that very willingly, God knows) in shedding one man's blood unjustly, though under the colour and formalities of justice, and pretences of avoiding public mischief."

Now, if this good, tho' unfortunate King, was so deeply touched for having given way to the fury of an ungovernable faction against the life of one man only, who was undeniably guilty, altho' not of treason, yet of several other enormities during his government of Ireland; how much must we think he would have been concerned, had he had the misfortune of passing the unparalleled act of settlement, which wanted on the one hand such pressing motives as attended Stafford's attainder and plainly exposed on the other, instead of one single sufferer, who upon the mean was not guiltless, the lives of many thousands of innocent and loyal persons, not to a speedy death, for that would have been a sort of mercy, but to a tedious lingering one, by unavoidable starving? an act of accumulative injustice in plain terms, by which the worst of traitors, and vilest of republican rebels, were most prodigally rewarded, loyal subjects that had for many years signalized themselves in the service of the crown, not only disappointed of their deserved and promised recompence, but condemned unheard, and stript of their very birth-right to gratify their enemies; a vast number

number of poor widows and orphans, sent a begging; public faith most notoriously violated! and to sum up the whole matter in a few words, justice perverted in all its branches and degrees.

There is no doubt but the late King was grossly abused and imposed upon, by his wicked ministers, to suffer all this injustice to pass for his act and deed; but then the question naturally arises, who obliged him to employ such ministers, or, at least, to allow them the latitude to abuse his regal authority at such a prodigious rate? I am sure he had done infinitely better, if according to Solomon's royal father, who by a dear bought experience, found how fatal it was to a Crown-Head, to trust people of such principles with the weighty affairs of his government, and therefore in his last advice to the Prince of Wales, he leaves him for a legacy this most excellent lesson. . . . " My counsel and " charge to you is, that you seriously consider the " former real or objected miscarriages, which " might occasion any troubles that you may avoid " them. Never repose so much upon any man's " single counsel, fidelity and discretion, in manage- " ing affairs of the first magnitude, that is, matters " of religion and justice; as to create in yourself " or others a diffidence of your own judgments, " which if likely to be always more constant and " impartial to the interest of your crown than any " man's. With an equal bounty and impartial hand, " distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you " find them for their real goodness, both in abili- " ties, and fidelity capable of them. This will be " sure to gain you the hearts of the best, and of

"the worst too: who though they be not good
themselves, yet are glad to see the severer ways
of virtue at any time sweeten'd by temporal re-
wards."

These are most excellent documents indeed, vastly different from that famous maxim of old Clarendon, make much of your Enemies, and your Friends will do you no harm; which yet being unluckily preferred before the other, was practised so long after the restoration, that not only such as were neuters or indifferent, but even those who till then were fast Friends to the Crown, became at last its severest enemies; wherefore since experience is the mother of knowledge we cannot but conclude, that the former rule is good and solid, but the latter most pernicious to Government. But what our royal author adds a little after towards the conclusion of this his Fatherly advice, speaks so much greatness of mind and Christian resignation, that I cannot in justice to his memory pass it over in silence. "If neither I nor you, be even restored to our rights, yet God in his severest justice will punish my subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickedness; I hope God will give me and you that grace, which will teach and enable us to want, as well as to wear a crown which is not worth taking up or enjoying, upon sordid, dishonourable or irreligious terms.

Had these solid and wholesome instructions been duly observed in the last reign, neither English Cavalier, nor Irish Loyalist should now have any such

O F I R E L A N D.

such cause of complaint; nor the * crown per
be obnoxious to such strange revolutions, as
world has of late been astonished at. And, as
the excuse alleged, I think it is but a very
one for a Christian Prince, to throw the blā
public acts of injustice upon his ministers;
it cannot be denied, that he himself, is neve
less answerable in the sight of God for al
wrongs committed. For, in all tribunals,
principal is still accountable for the actions o
deputy. And it is a rule in reason, approv
by the very Heathens, that men in power are
oned to authorise those crimes which they
and will not hinder. *Qui non vetat peccare,*
posset jubet. Neither is Holy Writ less pla
the matter; for, to say nothing of King A
(who had no hand in the murder of Naboth,
that his † name and his seal were made u
and yet his sentence is pronounced by † C
own appointment, as if he acted all himself;
have a dreadful example of Eli the High Pi
who, after he had judged Israel forty years,
to a miserable end for crimes committed, no
himself, but by his § reprobate children; as
a further judgment upon him, for tolerating
wickedness in persons under his immediate
the High Priesthood is quite transferred to and
family. E 2

* Because of unrighteous dealing, injuries
riches got by deceit, the kingdom is translated
one people to another; saith the Son of Sy
Eccl. 10. 8. † 1. Kings. 14. 8. † Ibid.
§ 1. Sam. 3. 13. &c.

This puts me in mind of a very notable passage in Mr. de Talzac's ingenious Aristippus, where having lively descried, in his seventh discourse, the mischiefs too frequently committed by wicked ministers and insolvent favourites, he thus finely reasons upon the matter: "All this while the Prince commits no sin, and yet he forbears not to be guilty. His ignorance is unpardonable, his patience is no virtue, and all the disorder, which either he knows not of, or which he tolerates, is imputed to him before God, as himself had committed it. With a great deal of reason therefore that Prince, was made according to God's own heart; he desires him in express terms, and that in the fervency of his most ardent prayers, that he would cleanse him from secret faults, and acquit him from the sins of others. Now this last word does it not plainly imply, that Kings ought not content themselves with a personal and particular innocence; and that it matters not for them to be just as to their own actions, if they lose themselves by the injustice of their ministers?

" And here (continues the same Aristippus) I cannot admit an extraordinary rapture formerly expressed to this purpose by a religious man of Italy, in a Sermon he preached before the Prince of that country, wherein, as he discoursed of the duties of Sovereigns, he all of a sudden breaks forth in these words, addressing himself to the Prince: Last night, sir, I had a very strange vision, methought the earth opened before me, and I distinctly looked in the centre thereof.—

" I considered the torments of the other life, and
" all that terrible train of God's justice, since
" which my Imagination is scarce well reassumed.
" Amongst the wicked of former ages I knew a
" great many of this ; detractors, murderers, impious persons, and hypocrites, ran thither in
" great troops, and crowded at the brim of this
" gulph ; but having observed in their lives the visible marks of their reprobation, I thought it not
" strange to see them arrive whereto I had seen
" them march. What astonished me extremely
" above all was, that I perceived your Highness in
" this unhappy throng, which was at the brink of
" destruction : and even as I was thus surprized and
" affrighted by the novelty of such an unexpected
" encounter, I cryed out to your Highness, Is it
" possible that a man should damn himself by pray-
" ing to God, and that you should go to Hell, you,
" sir, who are the best and most religious Prince
" in the world ? whereupon your Highness answer-
" ed me with a sigh, I do not go, father, but am
" led thither."

On the other side, although we should wave all thoughts of another life, and fancy with those mentioned in Holy Scripture, or with the purblind philosophers of antiquity, either that there is no Divine Providence, or that it takes no care of human affairs ; yet if we seriously consider how justice has in all ages been reputed so noble and so

* 14. 1. Nubes latibulum ejus, nec nostra co-
siderate, & eiycas Careines Cæli per ambulat, Job.
32: 24.

ditine a perfection, deservedly stiled by Cicero. The mistress and queen of all virtues, that set only the wisest among the Heathens even held it for a fundamental maxim, *Fiat Justitia & ruat Celum,* but even the most profligate of mankind did always love and admire it in those they dealt with, whence it became a Proverb, *Justia etiam inter Latrones.* We cannot but still conclude, that nothing is more impolitick in a Prince than to commit any public injustice, because nothing can render him more odious to his people. For, as the saying is, he threatens many, that injures any ; *Multis minatur, qui facit unam injuriam ;* and as sovereigns do sometimes love the treason, yet still hate the traitor, let his services be never so considerable ; so are unjust princes evermore hated by their subjects, even by those who are gainers by the injustice ; because this gives them reason to apprehend, it may be their own turn one dy or other to be served by him in the same manner.

No king since the creation of the universe, has proved so bountiful to the worst of rebels at the cost of his faithful subjects, as Charles the Second has done to the Cromwellians of Ireland ; yet so far was this extraordinary bounty from gaining their affections ; that in 1663, they framed a general conspiracy against him, which being seasonably discovered in Dublin, was hushed for that time, with the execution of three insignificant fellows ; while the ring-leaders, who were thought able to break through the cob-web law, with all the rest of their fellow traitors, were fully pardoned their justly forfeited lives, and their unjustly acquired

fortunes.

estates.* But, although the King forgave the plotters, they never intended to forgive him; and therefore about the year 1671, they fell to work again, in order to renew the same design; but that also being nipped in the bud, and stiled without any bloodshed, they thought fit to lie by for a while, until Oate's plot in '79 inspired them with new courage. Then they appeared barefaced, and none could be more violent than they for unhinging the Government by their sham plots, and impudent addresses for carrying on the anarchical bill of exclusion. And when that project happily miscarried, they were all ready, had the expected blow been given by the Rye-House conspirators, to join heart in hand in the extirpation of the monarchy, root and branch; in order to clear the way, and make room for their darling common wealth. Behold the blessed fruits of that politic maxim,—make much of your enemies, &c.

In short, we find, by the experience of all ages that honesty is the best policy, and the only sure rule that we can walk by, through the Egyptian mists of human affairs. King Charles the I. however imposed upon in the beginning of his troubles, was at last convinced of the truth of this, and of the falacy of other maxims when he delivered himself in these most Christain expressions. “God has been pleased to send these judgments upon me as a means to teach me, that the best rule of policy is to prefer the doing of justice before all enjoyments, and the peace of my conscience be-

"fore the preservation of my Kingdom,"* The case therefore being such, what shall people think of those statesmen who labour night and day to draw their sovereign out of this plain and easy road, into the narrow crooked paths of their own subtil and selfish invention? Sure they cannot be supposed to mean well, or to have any better design than to wheedle their master into a labyrinth, where he must either quite lose himself, or for ever own the obligation to their skill, if they chance to help him out of those intricacies, into which themselves had before inveigled him.

Upon the whole matter, I think it is but reasonable to conclude, that as there is no better or safer rule of policy, both for Prince and people, than to deal justly and honestly with all the world; So nothing is more necessary for sovereigns, than carefully to mark and avoid those, who would persuade them to steer their course by any other compass. Which in truth the wisest of Monarchs was very sensible of, when he pronounced that excellent sentence. Take away the wicked from before the King, and his throne shall be established in righteousness. For it is evident, that whoever advises his Prince, under the notion of politic convenience, to act contrary to the known rules of justice; or to endeavour the establishing his throne upon any other foundation than the natural pillars of Government; due rewards and punishments impartially distributed; cannot wish his reign either prosperous or lasting, and therefore ought to be reckoned amongst the worst of his enemies.

To

* Icon Basil, chap. 2. † Prov. 25. 5.

TO THE

King's most Excellent Majesty,

The Faithful Protestation and Humble Remonstrance, of the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of Ireland.

YOUR Majesty's faithful Subjects, the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of your Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland, out of a deep sense of those prodigious afflictions, under which the Monarchy of Great Britain has before your Majesty's happy restoration groaned these twenty years; and out of our sad thoughts, which daily bring more and more sighs from our breasts, and tears from our eyes, for not only, the still as yet continued miseries and sufferings of the Catholic natives, of that our unfortunate country; even amidst and ever since the so much famed joys and triumphs of your sacred Majesty's most auspicious inauguration; but also of the causes, whereunto we have made the most narrow search we could, of those our own peculiar unparalleled calamities; and upon reflection on that allegiance we owe, and ought by all divine and human laws, and which we are and have been always ready to swear and perform to your Majesty, our only Sovereign Lord on earth; and on the scandal (notwithstanding) which some persons (who are unwilling to understand aright our religion) cast upon it, as if it were not consistent with all dutiful obedience, and faith to the supreme temporal magistrate; and upon considera-

tion likewise of a further tye of conscience on us for endevouring as much as in us lies, to clear your Majesty's royal breast from all feats and jealousies whatsoever ; if any peradventure your Majesty entertain of us through the suggestion of such as hate our communion or nation ; and to wipe off that scandal, and allay the odium under which our church hath lain this last century of years, among other Christian people in these nations, or a different way from ours in the worship of God. "We
" humbly crave your Majesty's pardon to vindicate both ourselves and our Holy Belief, in that particular of our allegiance, by the ensuing protestation ; which (in imitation of the late good example given by our Clergy, and pursuant to the general doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church) we make in the sight of Heaven, and in the presence of your Majesty, sincerely and truly, without equivocation or mental reservation.

" We do acknowledge and confess your Ma-
" jesty to be our true and lawful King, supreme
" Lord and rightful Sovereign of this Realm of
" Ireland, and of all other your Majesty's do-
" minions ; and therefore we acknowledge and con-
" fess ourselves to be obliged under pain of sin, to
" obey your Majesty in all civil and temporal af-
" fairs, as much as any other of your Majesty's
" subjects ; and as the laws and rules of Govern-
" ment in this Kingdom do require at our hands.
" And that notwithstanding any power or preten-
" sion of the Pope or See of Rome, or any sentence
" or declaration of what kind or quality soever,
" given or to be given by the Pope, his predeces-
" sors,

“ sors, or by any authority spiritual or temporal,
“ proceeding or derived from him, or his See against
“ your Majesty, or royal authority. We will
“ still acknowledge, and perform to the utmost of
“ our abilities, our faithful loyalty, and true allegia-
“ nce to your Majesty. And we openly disclaim
“ and renounce all foreign power, be it either papal
“ or princely, spiritual or temporal, in as much as
“ it may be seemable, or shall pretend to free, dis-
“ charge or absolve us from this obligation, or shall
“ any way give us leave or licence to raise tu-
“ mults, bear arms, or offer any violence to your
“ Majesty's person, royal authority, or to the state
“ or government. Being all of us ready, not only
“ to discover and make known to your Majesty and
“ to your ministers, all the treasons made against
“ your Majesty, or them, which shall come to our
“ hearing; but also to lose our lives in the de-
“ fence of your Majesty's person and royal autho-
“ rity, and to resist, with our best endeavours,
“ all conspiracies and attempts against your Majesty
“ be they framed or sent under what pretence, or
“ patronized by what foreign power, or authority
“ soever. And further, we profess that all absolute
“ princes and supreme governors, of what religion
“ soever they be, are God's lieutenants on earth,
“ and that the obedience is due to them, according
“ to the laws of each commonwealth, respectively,
“ in all civil and temporal affairs. And therefore,
“ we do here protest against all doctrine and au-
“ thority to the contrary. And we do hold it im-
“ pious and against the word of God, to maintain
“ that any private subject may kill or murder the
“ anointed

" anointed of God, his prince, though of a different belief and religion from his. And we abhor and detest the practice thereof as damnable and wicked."

" These being the tenets of our religion in point of loyalty and subordination to your Majesty's authority, and our observance and veneration of, or communion with, the See of Rome, in matters purely spiritual, no way entertaining on that perfect obedience which by our birth, by the laws of God and man, we are bound to pay to your Majesty our natural and lawful sovereign."

Prostrate at your Majesty's feet we most humbly beg that all your Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland, who shall by subscription or consent, concur to this public protestation of loyalty, be protected from persecution for the profession or exercise of their religion, and all former laws upon that account, against them repealed.

Luke Earl of Fingal.	William Baron of Castle-
Morrogh E. of Inchiquin	Connell.
Donogh E. of Clancarty	Col. Charles Dillon.
Oliver E. of Tyrconnel	Mathew Plunket, Esq.
Theo. E. of Carlingford	L. Col. Ignatius Nugent,
Edmond V. Mont garret	Col. Bryan Mac Mahon.
Thomas V. Dillon	Col. Miles Reily.
Arthur V. Iveagh.	Col. Gilbert Talbot.
William V. Clane.	Edward Plunket Esq.
Charles V. Muscry.	Nicholas Plunket Knight,
William V. Taafe.	M. Plunket of Dunsay.
Oliver Baron of Lowth.	Luke Bath, Bart.
	Christopher

Christopher Plunket, of Dunsany.	J. Macnamara of Great lach.
James Dillon, Knight.	J. Talbot of Bela Connel
Col. Christopher Brian.	John Balit of Boorstown
Robert Talbot, Bart.	J. Talbot of Templeogue
Ullick Burk, Bart.	Patrick Archer
Edward Fitz Harris Bart.	L. Dowdall of Athlomny
Valentine Brown, Bart.	P. Hore of Kilsalch.
Henry Slingsby, Knight.	J. Barnwall of Bremo.
John Bellew Knight.	J. Allen of St. Wolstans
Col. William Bufk.	T. Cantwell of Ballamakedy.
Col. John Fitzpatrick.	J. Cantwell of Cantwel's Court.
Col. Milo Power.	Ed. Dillon of Streams Town.
L. Col. Pierce Lacy.	J. Flemming of Staball moch.
L. Col. Ullick Burk.	P. Sierlock of Grace dieu
L. Col. Thomas Scurlog.	C. Archbold of Timeling
Esquires and Gentlemen	P. Moore of Dowens Town.
Jeffery Brown of Galway	N. Haly of Towrine.
J. Walsh of Ballynoher.	Pierce Butler of Calan,
Patrick Bryan.	Pierce Butler of Kellvea- legher.
J. Fitzgerald of Laccach	J. Segrave of Cabrah.
J. Talbot of Malahyde.	R. Wadding of Kilbarry.
Tho. Luttrell of Luttrell- Town.	T. Brown of Clandon- nel's Row.
J. Hollwood of Artaine	O. Cashel of Duncalk.
Henry O'Neill son to Sir	P. Clinton of Irish town.
Phelim O'Neill.	Captain
D. Bagnal of Dunlickney	
H. Draket of Mornanton	
E. Butler of Monihore	
Nicholas Darcy of Platin	
P. Sarsfield to Lucan.	

26 *The Irish Roman Catholics, &c.*

Captain C. Turner.

John Bagot.

William Graa.

J. Arthur of Hogestown.

M. Laffan of Greastown.

C. Aylmer of Belrath.

J. Plunket of Gibstown.

T. St. J. of Mortlestown.

Wm. Barryoge of Kincurran.

R. Strange of Rockwell's Castle.

J. Butler of Ballinekill.

Anthony Colelough.

T. Sarsfield of Sarsfield

Town.

Nangle of Monanimny

Wolverston of Sielorgan.

Michael Bret.

P. Boyton of Ballyturny-macoris.

P. White of Chambelly

Major Laurence Dempsey.

Capt. Richard Dempsey.

E. Nugent of Culvin.

P. Porter of Kinton.

Major Marcus Furlong.

BISHOP

BISHOP PLUNKET'S S P E E C H

On the first of JULY, 1681.

Mr. Sheriff demanded his prisoner, who was carried by him on a sledge to be hanged drawn and quartered. In his passage to the place of Execution, he made many ejaculatory prayers full of the love of God, and charity to his neighbours. When he arrived at Tyburn and was tied up, before the cart was drawn from under him ; he made with wonderful cheerfulness the following discourse.

I have some few days past abided my trial at the King's Bench, and now very soon must hold up my hand at the King of King's Bench, and appear before a Judge who cannot be deceived by a false witness or corrupt allegations, for he knoweth the secrets of hearts, 'Neither can he deceive any, or give any unjust sentence, or be misled by respect of persons he being all goodness and a most just Judge, will infallibly decree an eternal reward for all good works, and condign punishment for the smallest transgressions, against his commandments.' Which being a most certain and undoubted truth : it would be a wicked act, and contrary to my perpetual welfare, that I should now by declaring any thing contrary to truth, commit a detestable sin, for which within a very short

short time I must receive sentence of everlasting damnation, after which there is no reprise or hope of pardon, I will therefore confess the truth without any equivocation; and make use of the words according to their accustomed signification, assuring you moreover, that I am of that certain persuasion, that no power, not only upon earth, but also in Heaven, can dispense with me, or give me leave to make a false protestation, and I protest upon the words of a dying man, and as I hope for salvation at the hands of the supreme Judge, that I will declare the truth, with all candor and sincerity, and that my affairs may be the better known to all the world.

'Tis to be observed that I have been accused in Ireland of treason premunire, and that there I was arraigned, and brought to my tryal. But the prosecutors (Men of flagitious and infamous lives) perceiving that I had records and witnesses, they voluntary absented themselves; and came to this city, to procure that I should be brought hither to my trial, where the crimes objected were not committed, where the jury did not know me, or the qualities of my accusers, and were not informed of several other circumstances conduced to a fair trial. Here after six months close imprisonment, (or thereabouts) I was brought to the bar the 3d May, and arraigned for a crime, for which I was before arraigned in Ireland, a strange resolution; a rare fact; of which you will hardly find a precedent these five hundred years past. But whereas my witnesses and records were in Ireland, the Lord Chief Justice gave me five weeks time to get them brought hither, but by reason of the uncertainty of

of the winds, the seas, and of the difficulty of getting copies of records, and bringing many witnesses from several counties in Ireland, and for many other impediments, (of which affidavit was made (I could not at the end of five weeks get the records and witnesses brought hither. I therefore begged for twelve days more that I might be in readiness for my trial; which the Lord Chief Justice denied, and so I was brought to my trial; and exposed (as it were with my hands tied) to those merciless perjurors, who did aim at my life, by accusing me of these following crimes.

"First, that I have sent letters by one Neal O'Neal, who was my page, to Monsieur Baldeschi, the Pope's secretary; to the Bishop of Aix, and to Prince Colonna; that they might solicit foreign powers to invade Ireland; and also to have sent letters to Cardinal Bulliou to the same effect.

"Secondly, To have employed Captain Con O'Neal to the French King for succour,

"Thirdly, To have lived and exacted monies from the Clergy of Ireland, to bring in the French and to maintain seventy thousand men.

"Fourthly, to have had in a readiness seventy thousand men, and lists made of them; and to have given directions to one Friar Duffy to make a list of two hundred and fifty men in the parish of Foghart, in the county of Louth.

"Fifthly, To have surrounded all the forts and harbours of Ireland; and to have fixed upon Carlingford, as a fit harbour for the French landing.

"Sixthly, To have had several councils and meetings

The S P E E C H of

" meetings, where there was money allotted for
" introducing the French.

" Finally, that there was a meeting in the county
" of Monaghan some ten or twelve Years past,
" where there were three hundred gentlemen of
" three several counties, to wit, Monaghan, Cavan
" and Armagh; whom I did exhort to take arms
" to recover their estates."

To the first I answer, that Neal O'Neal, was never my servant or page, and that I never sent letter or letters by him to Monsieur Baldeschi, or the Bishop of Aix, or to Principe Caelonna. And I say, that the English translation of that pretended letter, produced by the friar Mac-Moyar is a mere invention of his and never penned by me, nor its original, either in English, Latin, Italian, or any other language. I affirm more over that I never wrote letter or letters to Cardinal Bullion, or to any of the French King's ministers; neither did any who was in that court either speak to me, or write to me, directly, or indirectly, of any plot or conspiracy against my King or country. Farther I vow, that I never sent agent or agents to Rome; or to any other court about any civil or temporal affairs, and 'tis well known (for it is a precept publickly printed) that clergymen (living in countries where the government is not of Roman Catholics) are commanded by Rome, not to write to Rome concerning any civil or temporal affairs; and I do aver that I never received letter or letters from the Pope, or from any other of his ministers, making the least mention of any such matters. So that friars Mac Moyar and Duffy swore most falsely as to such letter or letters, agent or agents.

To the second, I say, that I never employed Capt. Con O'Neil, to the French King, or to any of his ministers. And that I never wrote to him or received letters from him; and that I never saw him but once, nor ever spoke to him to the best of my remembrance ten words; and for his being in Charlemont, or Dungannon, I never saw him in those towns, or knew of his being in those places; so that as to Con O'Neal, friar Mac-Moyar's depositions are false.

To the third, I say, that I never levied any money for a plot or conspiracy, for bringing in Spaniards or French; neither did I ever receive any upon that account, from priests or friars, as Mac-Clane and Duffy most untruly asserted. I assure you I never received from any clergyman in Ireland but what was due to me by ancient customs for my maintenance, and what my predecessors these hundred years past were wont to receive; nay, I received less than many of them, and if all the Catholic clergy of Ireland get in one year, were put in one purse, it would signify little or nothing to introduce the French, or to raise an army of seventy thousand men, which I had enlisted, as friar Mac-Moyar most falsely deposed. Neither is it less untrue what friar Duffy attened, viz, That I directed him to make a list of two hundred and fifty men in the parish of Feghart in the County of Louth,

To the fifth, I answer, that I never surrounded all the Forts and Harbours of Ireland; and that I was never at Cork, Kinsale, Bantry, Youghal, Dungarven, Limerick, Dungannon, or Wexford, as for Carlingford I was never in it but once, and stayed not in it but half an hoar; neither did I consider

consider the Fort or Haven; neither had I it in my thoughts or imaginations to fix upon it, or upon any other Fort or Haven, for landing of French or Spaniards; and whilst I was at Carlingford, (by meer chance passing that way. (Friar Duffy was not in my company, as he most falsely swore.

To the sixth I say, that I was never at any meeting or council, where there was mention made of aillotting or collecting money for a plot or conspiracy; and tis well known, that the Catholic Clergy of Ireland, who have neither lands nor revenues, and hardly are able to keep decent cloaths on their backs, and life and soul together, can raise no considerable sum, nay cannot spare as much as would maintain half a regiment.

To the seventh, I answer, that I was never at any meeting of three hundred Gentlemen in the County of Monaghan, Armagh, and Cavan, nor of one County, nor of one Barony, and that I never exhorted gentleman or gentlemen, either there, or any other part of Ireland, to take up arms for the recovering their estates, and it is well known, that there are not even in the Province of Ulster, three hundred Irish Roman Catholics who had estates, or lost estates by the late rebellion, and it is well known, all my thoughts and endeavours were for the quiet of my country and especially of that province.

Now to be brief, as I hope for salvation, I never sent letter or letters, agent or agents, to Pope King, Prince, or Prelate, concerning any plot or conspiracy against any king or country; I never raised sum or sums of money, great or small, to maintain soldier or soldiers, all the days of my life;

I never knew (nor neither did it come into my imagination) that the French were to land at Carlingford, and I believe there is none who saw Ireland ever in a map, but will think it a meer romance; I never knew of any plotters or conspirators in Ireland but such as were notorious and proclaimed (commonly called tories) whom I did endeavour to suppress, and as I hope for salvation, I always have been, and am entirely innocent of the treason laid to my charge, and of any other whatsoever.

And though I be not guilty of the crimes of which I am accused, yet I believe none ever came to this place who is in such a condition as I am, for if I should acknowledge (which in conscience I cannot do, because I should bely myself) the chief crimes laid to my charge, no wise men that knows Ireland would believe me. If I should confess that I was able to raise seventy thousand men in the districts of which I had care, to wit, in Ulster nay even in all Ireland, and to have levied and exacted money from the Roman Clergy for their maintenance, and to have prepared Carlingford for the landing of the French, all would laugh at me, it being well known that all the revenues of Ireland, both Spiritual and Temporal, possessed by his Majesty's subjects, are scarce able to raise and maintain an army of seventy thousand men. And if I deny all those crimes, (as I did, and do) yet it may be that some, who are not acquainted with the affairs of Ireland, will not believe that my denial is grounded upon truth, tho' I assert it with my last breath. I dare venture to affirm, that if these points of seventy thousand men, &c. had been sworn

sworn before any Protestant Jury in Ireland; and had been acknowledged by me at the Bar, they would not believe me; no more than if it had been deposed, and confessed by me, that I had flown in the air from Dublin to Holly-head.

You see therefore what a condition I am in, and you have heard what protestations I have made of innocence, and I hope you will believe the words of a dying man. And that you may be the more induced to give me credit, I assure you that a great Peer sent me notice, "that he would save my life" if I would accuse others," but I answered, "that I never knew any conspirators in Ireland, but such " (as I said before) as were publickly known out-laws; and that to save my life, I would not falsely accuse any, nor prejudice my own soul: St. Matt. 16. 26. What availeth a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? to take away any mans life or goods wrongfully, ill cometh any Christian, especially a man of my calling, being a clergyman of the Catholic church, and also an unworthy prelate, which I openly confess."

Neither will I deny to have exercised in Ireland, the functions of a Catholic prelate, as long as there was any connivance or toleration; and by teaching and preaching, and statutes, to have endeavoured to bring the Clergy (of which I had care) to a due comportment; according to their calling: and though thereby I did but my duty, yet some who would not amend, had a prejudice for me, and especially my accusers; to whom I did endeavour to do good: I mean the Clergymen (as for the four laymen, who appeared against me, viz. Florence Macmoyar, the two Neals, and Hanson, I was never acquainted

acquainted with them) but you see how I am requited, and how by false oaths they brought me to this untimely death. Which wicked act being a defect of persons, ought not to reflect upon the order of St. Francis, or upon the Roman Catholic Clergy; it being well known, that there was Judas among the twelve Apostles, and a wicked Man called Nicholas among the seven Deacons, and even as one of the said Deacons, to wit Holy Stephen did pray for those who stoned him to death; so do I for those who with perjuries spill my innocent blood; saying as St. Stephen did, O Lord lay not this Sin to them. I do heartily forgive them, and also the Judges, who (by denying me sufficient time to bring my records and witnesses from Ireland) did expose my life to evident danger.

I do also forgive all those who had any hand in bringing me from Ireland to be tried here; where it was morally impossible for me to have a fair trial. I do finally forgive all who did concur directly or indirectly, to take away my life, and I ask forgiveness of all those whom I ever offended, by thought, word, or deed. I beseech the All-powerful, that his Divine Majesty grant our King, Queen, and the Duke of York, and all the Royal Family, health, long life, and all prosperity in this world, and in the next everlasting felicity.

And now that I have shewed sufficiently (as I think) how innocent I am of any plot or conspiracy; I would I were able with the like truth to clear myself of high crimes committed against the Divine Majesty's commandments, (often transgressed by me) for which I am sorry with all my heart; and if I should or could live a thousand years I have

have a firm resolution, and a strong purpose, by your grace (O my God) never to offend you; and I beseech your Divine Majesty, by the merits of Christ and the intercession of his blessed Mother, and all the Holy Angels and Saints to forgive me my sins, and to grant my soul eternal rest. Be merciful unto me O Lord, &c. Spare my Soul, &c. Into thy hand I recommend my spirit, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

To the final satisfaction of all persons that have the charity to believe the words of a dying Man; I again declare before God, as I hope for Salvation, that what is contained in this paper, is the plain and naked truth; without any equivocation, mental reservation, or secret evasion whatsoever; taking the words in the usual sense and meaning Protestants do, when they discourse with all candor and sincerity. To all which I have here subscribed my name.

OLIVER PLUNKET.

A Copy of this SPEECH he delivered to the Sheriff, and to some of his Friends, which was accordingly printed,

HIS Speech ended and his cap was drawn over his Eyes, he again recommended his happy Soul with raptures of devotion into the hands of Jesus, his Saviour, for whose sake he died, 'till the cart was drawn from under him. Thus then he hung betwixt Heaven and Earth, an open sacrifice to God for innocence and Religion; and as soon as he expired the Executioner ripped up his Belly and Breast, and pulled out his Heart and Bowels, threw them into the fire, ready kindled near the Gallows

for

for that purpose; the rest of his body being begged of the King, was carried by his friends to a house near St. Giles's Church, the trunk whereof was placed in a coffin, his Head and arms to the elbow, being reserved out of the coffin, and disposed of elsewhere, then the body was interred in the Church-Yard, and a copper plate placed on his breast, whereon was engraved these following words, set here down for the satisfaction of the curious :

IN this Tomb resteth the Body of the Right Reverend Oliver Plunket, Arch bishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland; who in hatred of Religion was accused of High Treason by false Witnesses, and for the same condemned and executed at Tyburn, his Heart and Bowels being taken out, and cast into the fire. He suffered Martyrdom with constancy, the 1st of July, 1681, in the Reign of King Charles the second.

Four years after his interment, the Trunk of his Body was taken up and found entire, and sent beyond Sea, where it lies intombed in a Monument worthy of his character and eminent Sanctity : his Arms and Head are disposed of elsewhere, and are likewise entire as several eye-witnesses might testify,

A

SHORT DESCRIPTION OF LIMERICK.

LIMERICK, lat. Limericum, a strong City in the province of Munster, in Ireland, situate near the confines of Connnaught, upon the River Shannon, forty five miles W. of Killenny, thirty five S. from Galway, and from the main Ocean about sixty ; but so accommodated by the River, that Ships of burden come up to the walls. 'Tis almost quite surrounded with water, and is, without dispute, the strongest Town in Ireland. 'Tis the capital of a County, of the same name, and a Bishop's See, under the Archbishop of Cashel. The Irish call it Laumenagh. It was taken from them by Raimond le Grosse, an Englishman; after which one Donowald, an Irish Royolet of Thomond, burnt it. King John built the Castle; the English in after-times built an additional Town, environed it with walls, and secured it with Draw-bridges, and whatever else might contribute to it's strength : so that when Ireton came before it, in 1651, for the Parliamentarians, Hugh O'Neal, a good commander, constituted Governor of it by the Lord Lieutenant, made a vigorous defence ; but after three months siege, the Garrison weakened by the Plague, and strained for provisions, delivered it upon Articles. After the Defeat of the Boyne, King James's forces rallied here, and made so good a defence under Boisneau the French Governor, and so much rain fell that King William

who

A short Description of LIMERICK. 99

who began its siege in person, August 10, 1690, decamped the 30th following; but the next Year, it being besieged by General Ginckle, after the battle of Aughrim, and surrender of Galway, the Garrison capitulated, and had advantageous Conditions allowed it, on surrender of the Place which put an end to the then troubles in Ireland. The county of Limerick is bounded on the North by the River Shannon and Mysker, which parts it from Clare and Ormond, on the East it has the County of Tipperary, on the South that of Cork, on the West the County of Kerry. A fertile country, saith Cambden, and well inhabited.—The Western side is mountaneous, the rest plain.

The Civil Articles of LIMERICK,

AGREED UPON

the 3d of October, 1691.

GULIELMUS & MARIA Dei Gratia Anglia, Scotiae, Franciae & Hiberniae, Rex & Regina, Fidei Defensores, &c. Omnibus ad quos Presentes, literæ nostræ prevenerit salutem; Inspximus Irrolutament quarrund literarum patentium de confirmatione geren. Dat apud Westmonasterium vicesime quarto dei Februarij, anno præteriti in Cancellar nostr. Irrolutat, ac ibidem de Recordo remanen in hæc verba. William and Mary, by the Grace of God, &c. To all to whom those presents shall come Greeting, Whereas certain articles bearing date the third day of October last past, made and agreed on between our Justices of our Kingdom of Ireland, and our General of our Forces there, on the one part. And several officers there commanding within the City of Limerick, in our said Kingdom, on the other part.— Whereby our said justices and general did undertake, that we should ratify those articles within the space of eight months, or sooner; and use their utmost endeavours that the same should be ratified and confirmed in Parliament. The tenor of which said articles is as follows, viz.

The

THE
CIVIL ARTICLES OF
LIMERICK.

Agreed upon the Third Day of October, One
Thousand Six Hundred and Ninety One.

Exactly printed from the Letters Patent, Wherein
they are Ratified and Exemplified by their Ma-
jesties under the Great Seal of England.

BETWEEN the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Conningsby Esq. lords justices of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron de Ginckle, lieutenant general and Commander in chief of the English army; on the one part, and the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcell, Colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir T^homas Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown, on the other part.

In the behalf of the Irish Inhabitants in the City and County of Limerick; the Counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo and Mayo.

In consideration of the surrender of the City, of Limerick, and other agreements made betwixt the said Lieutenant General Ginckle, the Governor of the City of Limerick, and the Generals of the Irish Army, bearing date with these presents, for the
surrender

surrender of the said City, and submission of the said Army. It is agreed, that,

ART. I. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second. And their Majesties as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this Kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

ART. II. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other Garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all Officers and Soldiers, now in Arms, under any commission of King James, or those authorised by him, to grant the same in the several Counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork and Mayo, or any of them, and all the commissioned Officers in their Majesty's quarters, that belong to the Irish Regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not Prisoners of War, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their Majesties obedience, and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess and enjoy, all and every of their estates of Freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles and interests, privileges and immunities, which they and every, or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of King Charles the second, or at any time since, by

the

the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of King Charles the second, and shall be put in possession, by order of the Government, of such of them as are in the King's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be free and discharged from all arrears of Crown rents, quit rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due since Michaelmas, 1688 to the day of the date hereof. And all persons comprehended in this article, shall, have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattles, real and personal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any persons whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them; and all and every the said persons, of what professor, trade and calling, soever they be, shall and may use, exercise and practise their several and respective professions, trades and callings as freely as they did use, exercise and enjoy the same in the reign of King Charles the second; provided, that nothing in this article contained, be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person now out of the Kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised. Provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this Article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the Oaths of Allegiance, made by Act of Parliament in England, in the first Year of the Reign of their present Majesties, when thereunto required.

Art. III. All Merchants or reputed Merchants of the City of Limerick, or of any other garrison, now possessed by the Irish, or of any Town

or place in the Counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the Seas, that have not bore Arms since their Majesties declaration in February 1688, shall have the benefit of the second Article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such Merchants, and reputed Merchants do repair into this Kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

A R T. IV. The following Officers, viz. Col. Simon Luttrell, Captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace, of Yemantown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount-Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments; or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article; provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their Majesties Government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

A R T. V. That all and singular, the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprision of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses and other crimes, and misdemeanors whatsoever, by them or any of them committed since the reign of King James 2d, and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the Lords Justices and General, will use their best endeavour to get the same repealed by parliament, and the Outlawries to be reversed *Gratis*, all but Writing Clerk's Fees.

A R T. VI. And whereas these present Wars have

have drawn on great violence, on both parts and that if leave were given to the bringing all Sorts of private Actions, the Animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on Foot, and the public disturbances last. For the quieting and settling therefore of this Kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no Person or Persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing Articles shall be sued, molested, or impeached, at the Suit of any Party or Parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any Arms, Horses, Money, Goods, Chattles, Merchandises, or Provisions whatsoever by them seized or taken during the time of the War. And no Person or Persons whatsoever in the second and third Articles comprised, shall be sued impleaded, or made accountable for the Rents, or mean Rates of any Lands, Tenements, or Houses by him or them received, or enjoyed in this Kingdom, since the beginning of the present War to the Day of the Date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass, by him or them committed in any such Lands, Tenements or Houses. And it is also agreed, that this Article shall be mutual, and reciprocal on both sides.

ART. VII. Every Nobleman and Gentleman comprised in the said second and third Article, shall have Liberty to ride with a Sword and Case of Pistols, if they think fit, and keep a Gun in their Houses, for the Defence of the same, or for Fowling.

ART. VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the City of Limerick and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattles and provisions.

visions out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof,

ART. IX. The Oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their Majesties Government, shall be the Oath aforesaid and no other.

ART. X. No Person or Persons, who shall at any Time here-after break these Articles or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other Person or Persons, to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

ART. XI. The Lord Justices and General do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the Persons comprehended in the above mentioned Articles, shall be protected and defended from all Arrests and Executions for Debt or Damage, for the space of Eight Months, next ensuing the date hereof.

ART. XII. Lastly, the Lord Justices and General do undertake, that their Majesties will ratify these Articles, within the space of eight Months or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours, that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in Parliament.

ART. XIII. An whereas Colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants, by judgment of record; which appearing to the late Government, the Lord Tyrconnel and Lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their

their Army. For freeing the said Lord Lucan of his said engagement, past on their public account, for payment of the said Protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan, and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said Lords Justices, and the said Baron de Ginckle, shall intercede with the King and Parliament, to have their estates secured to Roman Catholics, by Articles and Capitulation, in this Kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said debts, as the said Lord Lucan upon stating Accompts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand that the effects taken from said Brown amount to; which accompt is to be stated; and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof.

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands.

P R E S E N T.

Seravemore.

Charles Porter.

H. MacCay.

Tho. Conningsby.

T. Talmash.

Bar. de Giackle.

AND

AND WHEREAS the said City of Limerick hath been since in pursuance of the said Articles surrendered unto us. Now know ye, that we having considered of the said Articles are graciously pleased hereby to declare that we do for us, our heirs and successors as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of Parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by Parliament; and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills; that shall be passed by our two houses of Parliament to that purpose.

And where as it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said Articles, that after the words, Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said Articles, the words following, viz. And all such as are under their protection in the said counties, should be inserted, and be part of the said Articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered until after the said Articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second Town was surrendered. And that our said Justices, and Generals, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draught thereof.

Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viu. And all such as are under their protection in the said counties, hereby for us, our heirs and successors

successors ordaining and declaring, that all and every person or persons, therein concerned, shall and may have, receive and enjoy, the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner, as if the said words had been inserterd in their proper place, in the said second Article; any omission, defect or mistake in the second Article in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patent shall be enrolled in our Court of Chancery, in our kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year, next ensuing. In witness, &c.

Witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February, Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Gulielme & Mariae Quarto, per Breve de Privato, Sigillo, Nos autem Tenorem Premissor, Predict, ad Requisitionem Attornat General.— Domini Regis, & Kominæ Reginæ pro Regno Hibernie. Duximus exemplificand, per Presentest. In cuius Rei Testimonium has literas nostras fieri feciemus patentes Testibus nobis ipsis apud Wés. non. Qinto die Aprilis, Annoque Regni corum Quarto.

G

BRIDGES.

Examinat	{	S. Keck.	{	In Cancel
pro nos	{	Lacon Wm. Chilas.	{	Magistres

Military

MILITARY ARTICLES,

AGREED UPON.

Between the Baron de Ginckle, Lieutenant General, and Commander in Chief of the English Army, on the one side;

A N D

The Lieut. Generals de Ussoon, and de Tesse, Commanders in Chief of the Irish Army, on the other; and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.

ART. I. That all persons, without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the Kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any Country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, Household Stuff, Plate and Jewels.

II. That all General Officers, Colonels, and generally all other Officers of horse, dragoons and foot guards, troopers, dragooneers; soldiers of all kinds that are in any garrison, place or post, now in the hands of the Irish, or encamped in the Counties of Cork, Clare and Kerry, as also those called rapparees, or voluntiers, that are willing to go beyond seas as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embark themselves, wherever the ships are, that are appointed to transport them; and to come in whole bodies, as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III. That all persons above mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland, and go into France, shall have

of LIMERICK. III.

have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz. The troops in Limerick on Tuesday next in Limerick; the horse at their camp on Wednesday, and the other forces that are dispersed in the Counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork on the 8th Instant, and on none other, before Monsieur Tameron, the French intendant, and Colonel Wichers: and after such declaration is made, the troops that will go into France must remain under the command and discipline of their Officers; that are to conduct them thither; and Deserters of each side shall be given up and punished accordingly.

IV. That all English and Scotch Officers, that serve now in Ireland shall be indulged in this capitulation, as well for the security of their Estates and goods in England, Scotland and Ireland, (if they are willing to remain here) as for passing freely into France, or any other country to serve.

V. That all the General French Officers, Strangers and all other whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the Army, or that do Trade or Commerce, or are otherwise employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have free leave to pass into France, or any other country; and shall have leave to ship themselves with all their Horses, Equipage, Plate, Papers and all their Effects whatever: and that General Ginckle will order Passports for them, Convoys and Carriages by Land and Water, to carry them safe from Limerick, to the Ships where they shall be embarked, without paying any thing for the said Carriages, or those that are employed therein, with their Horses, Carts, Boats and Shallops,

VI. That if any of the aforesaid Equipage, Merchandise, Horses, Money, Plate, or other moveables, or household stuff, belonging to the said Irish Troops or the other French Officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the Troops of the said General, the said General will order it to be restored, or payment to be made according to the Value that is given in upon Oath by the person so robbed, or plundered. And the said Irish Troop to be transported as aforesaid. And all other persons belonging to them, are to observe good order in their March and Quarters; and shall restore whatever they shall take from the Country, or make Restitution for the same.

VII. That to facilitate the transporting the said Troops the General will furnish Fifty Ships, each Ship's Burthen two hundred Tons; for which the Person to be transported, shall not be obliged to pay; and twenty more if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them; and if any of the said Ships shall be of lesser Burthen, he will furnish more in number to countervail; and also give two Men of War to embark the principal Officers, and serve for a Convoy to the Vessels of Burthen.

VIII. That a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork to visit the transport ships, and what condition they are in for sailing; and that as soon as they are ready, the troops to be transported shall march with all convenient speed the nearest way, in order to embark there. And if there shall be any more men to be transported, than can be carried off in the said fifty ships, the rest shall quit the English Town of Limerick, and march

March to such Quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their transportation, where they shall remain till the other twenty ships be ready, which are to be in a month; and may embark in any French ship that may come in the mean time.

IX. That the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horse, and all necessary provisions to subsist the Officers, Troops, Dragoons and Soldiers, and all other persons that are shipped to be transported into France; which provision shall be paid for, as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nantz, upon the coast of Brittany, or any other port in France they can make.

X. And to secure the return of the said ships, (the danger of the seas excepted) and payment for the said provisions, hostages shall be given.

XI. That the garrisons of Clare-Castle, Ross, and all other Foot that are in Garrisons, in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of this capitulation, and such part of those Garrisons as design to go beyond Seas, shall march out with their Arms Baggage, Drums beating, Ball in Mouth, Match lighted at both ends, and Colours flying, with all the Provisions, and half the Ammunition that is in the said Garrisons, and join the Horse that march to be transported; or if then there is not shipping enough for the Body of Foot that is to be next transported the Horse, General Ginckle will order that they be furnished with Carriages for that purpose; and what Provision they shall want in their march, they paying for the said Provisions; or else that they may take it out of their own Magazines.

XII. That all the troops of horse and dragoons, that are in the Counties of Cork, Kerry and Clare, shall also have the benefit of this capitulation; and that such as will pass into France shall have quarters given them in the Counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by General Ginckle, until they can be shipped; and within their quarters they shall pay for every thing, except forage, and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

XIII. Those of the garrison of Sligo, that are joined to the Irish army, shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convoy them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV. The Irish may have liberty to transport nine hundred horse, including horses for the Officers, which shall be transported gratis; and as for the troopers that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they think fit; giving up their horse and arms to such persons as the General shall appoint.

XV. It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horse, that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the King's rates; wherever they can find it in the Quarters that are assigned for them, without any let or molestation; and to carry all necessary Provisions out of the City of Limerick. And for this purpose the General will furnish convenient Carriages for them to the places where they shall be embarked.

XVI. It shall be lawful to make use of the hay, preserved in the Stores of the County of Kerry,

for

for the horses that shall be embarked, and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy hay and oats wherever it shall be found, at the King's rates.

XVII. That all prisoners of war, that are in Ireland the 28th of September, shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the General promises to use his endeavour, that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII. The General will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded Officers, Troopers, Dragoons and Soldiers of the Irish Army, that cannot pass into France at the first embarkment; and after they are cured, will order them ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. That at the signing hereof, the General will send a ship express to France; and that besides he will furnish two ships of those that are now in the river of Limerick, to transport two persons into France, that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty; and that the Commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put ashore to the next port of France where they shall make.

XX. That all those of the said Troops, Officers, and others, of what character soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopt upon the account of debt or any other pretext.

XXI. If after signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of, the Fleet, a French Packet-Boat or other Transport Ship, shall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the General will order a Passport, not only for such as must go on board the said Ships, but to the Ships to come to the nearest Port to the place where the Troops to be Transported shall be quartered.

XXII.

XXII. That after the arrival of the said Fleet, there shall be free communication and passage between it and the quarters of the above said troops; and especially for all those that have passed from the chief Commanders of the said Fleet, or from Monsieur Tameron, the intendant.

XXIII. In consideration of the present capitulation, the two towns of Limerick shall be delivered, and put into the hands of the General, or any other person he shall appoint at the time and days hereafter specified, viz. The Irish Town, except the Magazines and Hospital, on the Day of the signing of these present Articles; and as for the English Town, it shall remain together with the Island, and the free passage of Thomond Bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish Army that are now in the Garrisons, or that shall hereafter come from the Counties of Cork, Kerry, Clare, Sligo, and other places above mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their Transportation.

XXIV. And to prevent all disorders that may happen between the Garrison that the General shall place in the Irish Town, which shall be delivered to him and the Irish Troopers that shall remain in the English Town, and the Island, which they may do, until the Troops to be embarked on the first fifty ships shall be gone to France, and no longer; they shall entrench themselves on both sides, to hinder the communication of the said Garrisons. And it shall be prohibited on both sides to offer anything is offensive, and the parties offending, shall be punished on either sides.

XXV. That it shall be lawful for the said Garrison to march out all at once, or at different times,

times as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, six brass guns; such as the besieged shall choose, two mortar pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the Magazines of the said place.—And for this purpose, an inventory of all the ammunition in the garrison shall be made in the presence of any person that the General shall appoint, the next day after these present articles shall be signed.

XXVI. All the magazines of said provisions shall remain in the hands of those who are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France; and if there shall not be sufficient in the stores for the support of the said troops, whilst they stay in this Kingdom, and are crossing the seas, that upon giving up an account of their numbers, the General will furnish them with sufficient provisions at the King's rates; and that there shall be a free market at Limerick; and other quarters where the said troops shall be; and in case any provision shall remain in the magazines of Limerick, when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to the troops on shipboard.

XXVII. That there shall be a cessation of arms, at Land, as also at Sea, with respect to the Ships, whether English, Dutch or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they shall be returned to their respective harbours; and that on both sides they shall be furnished with sufficient passes both for ships and Men; and if

any Sea commander, or Captain of a Ship, or any Officer, Trooper, Dragoon, Soldier or any other person shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons so acting, shall be punished on either side; and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done; and officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the English and French Fleets, of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That for the security of the Execution of this present capitulation, and of each article, therein contained, the besieged shall give the following hostages.—And the General shall give—

XXIX. If before this capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the Government, or command in the army, which is now commanded by General Ginckle; all those that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause them to be executed punctually; and shall not act contrary on any account whatsoever.

OCTO. 17, 1691.

BARON DE GINCKLE.

¶ The foregoing articles are now re-printed from a copy by authority in 1692.

THE
CASE
OF THE
ROMAN CATHOLICS
OF
IRELAND.

Humbly represented to both Houses of Parliament, 1724; in relation to a Bill now under consideration, by which the said Roman Catholics conceive they are very much aggrieved should it pass into a Law.

THOUGH the case of those unfortunate people (in my humble opinion) may not improperly be likened to the roll of a book, given to the Prophet Ezekiel, to eat (Ezekiel chap. 2. 9.) which was written within and without; and there was written therein lamentation, and mourning; and woe; Qui erat Scriptus intus & soris; et Scriptae erant in eo Lamentationes; et Carmen, et Væ. Yet they comfort themselves very much upon this consideration, that their fate is in the hands of noble Peers, and honourable Senators, whose goodness and pity they had often experienced upon the like occasion; and look upon it as the greatest of their happiness, that our constitution has set

as a barrier between the Prince and the people, that the Prince might not oppress the people, nor the people invade the prerogative of the Prince.

The Roman Catholics of Ireland, when the revolution happened, did conceive, and believe it to be undeniably true, that by the ancient fundamental laws, and statutes of England and Ireland, the Imperial Crown of England was Monarchical and hereditary, lineally and gradually descending by inherent, indefeasible and unalienable right of Primo Geniture, and proximity of blood, to the next true heir, upon the death or voluntary abdication of the preceding lawful Monarch, without any intervening formality, call, authority, recognition, coronation oath or ceremony, whatsoever; whether the heir should happen to be at the time of such Death or abdication, in, or out of the Kingdom, as it did to James the sixth of Scotland, and first of England, on the death of Queen Elizabeth; and to Charles the Second residing in Holland, upon the murder of the King his royal father, which verifies the maxim in law, affirming that the King never dies. *Rex nunquam moritur,*

The Roman Catholics of Ireland grounding their belief upon these laws and statutes, thought that at least, they were bound in conscience to keep the faith and allegiance, which they gave and swore to King James the Second. And therefore concluded, they could not transfer the same unto any other Prince so long as the said King James was alive; notwithstanding the revolution which happened in England, in the year 1688. And the rather, that they believed the abdication, which was voted (in the convention of London) to have been made

made by the said King, was not voluntary ; considering the restraint he was under, and the abuses offered to him, when he attempted to make his escape. And they were further confirmed in this belief, by the letter which he wrote to the Lords of his Privy Council, when he arrived at Calais, in France, desiring them to propose safe methods for his return ; and giving among other reasons for his withdrawing or leaving his Kingdoms, a saying which he heard of his royal father ; that the prison and grave of a Prince are not far asunder.

Upon these considerations, the Roman Catholics of Ireland took up arms in defence of his Crown and dignity, received himself in person at their head, and fought for him till they were reduced to extremities by King William's armies. And even then did not listen to any terms of Peace, till they had King James's consent upon his departure from Ireland, to make the best condition they could for themselves. Being then the next campaign after the Battle of Aughrim, and surrender of Galway, distressed at the second siege of Limerick, they capitulated with the Generals of King William's troops and the Lords Justices of Ireland : and obtained articles commonly called the Articles of Limerick, upon valuable considerations, viz. First, the avoiding the further effusion of human blood, Secondly, the surrendering of the city of Limerick, and all the garrison towns in the counties of Cork, Clare, Mayo, and Sligo. For the religious performance of which articles, according to the true intent and meaning of the same, the said Lords Justices and Generals under the sanction of public

faith, solemnly plighted their words and honours and promised to get the same ratified by King William, which they accordingly did, King William ratifying them in council under the broad seal of England.

Now by the first of these articles, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, were to enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as they did in the reign of King Charles the II. in whose reign it is manifest, the Roman Catholics had Bishops, Dignitaries, Priests, and religious orders of their own communion, to instruct and govern them in religious matters.

By the second article, all the Roman Catholics of Ireland (except those who left the Kingdom, and submitted not to King William's government) were to enjoy all their real and personal estates, and all the right, titles and interest, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held or enjoyed in the reign of King Charles the II. in whose reign it is also manifest that all the Roman Catholic Peers and Gentlemen of Ireland, and all others, who would or could purchase them, carried arms, and that some of them were in posts of honour, as that of Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other posts of profit and trust. That their Lawyers, Attorneys and Solicitors, practised their respective callings, with the same freedom and liberty as the Protestants. As also that the Roman Catholic merchants, dealers and tradesmen, were Aldermen and Burgesses in Cities, and Freemen in towns and corporations over all the Kingdom.

By the ninth article, the oath to be administered

ed to such Roman Catholics as submitted to King William, was the oath of Allegiance and no other.

In confidence of this sacred tye of public faith, solemnly given to them under the hands and seals of the said Lords Justices and Generals, the said Roman Catholics surrendered the city of Limerick, and all the towns and garrisons then in their possession, and have ever since to this day, lived peaceably and quietly under the Government of the respective Kings and Queens of Great Britain, without ever attempting to molest or disturb, or raise any Rebellion or Tumult, in it, as is evident to all the world.

But how well the said articles, and this sacred tie have been kept to them; or rather how manifestly they have been broken in upon, and violated, is a theme, which the Roman Catholics cannot with tears of blood sufficiently lament, *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ!*

It wóuld be too tedious to recite all the acts of parliament since made in this Kingdom to that purpose; let it suffice to say, that by laws since made, all and every Roman Catholic of the Kingdom (except a few Lords, and three or four Colonels of the troops that were actually in Limerick and Galway at the time they surrendered) are disabled under severe penalties to carry arms offensive or defensive; for their own, or defence of their houses and goods, other than pitchforks, or such instruments as the peasants till the earth with; nay, many gentlemen who formerly made a considerable figure in the kingdom, are now a days, when they walk with canes or sticks only in their hands, insulted by men armed with swords pistols,

tols, who of late rose from the very dregs of the people. *Servi Dominati sunt nobis!* Lamenta Jeremie.

All Roman Catholic lawyers, attorneys, and solicitors, are disabled to practice their respective callings, except they take the oath of Abjuration, the oath of Supremacy, and the Test, that is, become Protestants. So that of about an hundred Roman Catholic lawyers and Attorneys, that attend the courts of Dublin, and in the county, not one of them is allowed to get a morsel of bread by those studies upon which they spent their youth and their time.

All the Roman Catholics of the kingdom in general, without any exception or saving, are disabled to purchase any lands or tenements, to take mortgages for security of money, or even to take any lease or farm exceeding the term of thirty one years, and that at no less than two thirds of the improved rent. So that all encouragement for natural industry is taken away from them, and are left under an impossibility of ever being other than slaves. By the same laws, their Children though never so profligate or undutiful to their parents, upon their becoming Protestants, are encouraged to compel their parents to give them a maintenance, such as the Lord Chancellor, for the time being shall think fit. And all heirs apparent of such Parents upon their becoming Protestants, make their Parents tenants for life. So that the Fathers, cannot, may not provide for their other dutiful children, or other extraordinary exigencies of life. Now if this be not encouraging children to transgress God's law, I own I know not what is; and will not the great

great Legislator of Heaven require this at Men's hands?

By another law, all the Registered Roman Catholic Priests of this kingdom, are required to take the oath of Abjuration by a certain day, under the penalty of being reputed regulars, and punished as such. And all the Laity, without exception to be summoned thereunto, and upon their refusal the third time, to be guilty of a premunire, which is, forfeiture and confiscation of all their real and personal estate, and perpetual imprisonment.— Notwithstanding that they had stipulated by the articles of Limerick; and had the public faith given them, that no other oath but that of Allegiance should be required of them, which oath they were always ready to take.

By another law, all Burgesses and Aldermen of Cities, Freemen, and masters of Corporations, all men bearing civil offices, charges or employments, above the degree of petty Constables, are required to take the oath of Abjuration, the oath of Supremacy, and the Test, so that at present, there is not one Freeman or master of any Corporation, nor of any other the least charge (excepting that of a petty Constable) of the Roman Catholic Religion, in all the Kingdom; neither are any of the tradesmen or shop keepers of this Religion suffered to work at their respective trades, or sell their goods in any of the Cities in Ireland, except they pay exorbitant taxes which they call quarterage to the respective masters of their Corporation; and upon refusal of paying the same, (because there is no law for it) they are sure to be summoned to take the oath of Abjuration, in order to frighten them

them to a compliance. Add to this, that as often as England or Ireland have been alarmed by the attempts made by the French or Spaniards, or by the Pretender upon England or Scotland, the Roman Catholics of this Kingdom were sure to be taken up, to have the arms which the few of them had, taken from them; to have their houses, and the houses of men who had no arms, rifled for more; to have their saddle, and even their draught and plough horses taken from them, and kept while the alarm continued. And had these foreigners, or the Pretender succeeded in their attempts, the Lord of Heaven knows what would be our fate! so, that what * Tertullian writes in his Apology for the Christians of his time, now is, with some little alteration, applicable to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. But for as much as the refusing to take the oath of Abjuration, is the pretence of all the grievances and oppressions under which they groan, I shall beg leave to dwell a little upon this argument, and doubt not to make it appear, that it is, but a pretence, and not a just cause.

By the oath of allegiance, all persons whatsoever, who take the same are bound in conscience, and by the sacred tie of calling God to bear witness of the sincerity of their hearts, (as all the divines, legislators and lawyers, of the Christian world agree) not to have a hand directly or indirectly in any plot or conspiracy against the Prince or Government, to whom they take this oath, and

to

* Si Tiberis redundant; Si Nilus non aestuat, Si Pestis, Si Fames. Si Gladius, Statim Christiani Romani) ad Leonas.

so discover to him or them, or to some of their Magistrates, all such plots or conspiracies, as they shall have knowledge of; Yea, and to be aiding and assisting with their lives and fortunes in suppressing them in their respective stations and qualifications. Can there be any thing more sacred to bind men's conscience? can the oath of abjuration do more? if men break this oath, will they not break all other oaths whatsoever? is not any Government the most tyrannical, or the most unjustly acquired in the world, safe under such a tie, from men whose love or affections they suspect, if this oath be kept? or if it be not, what other oath will they keep.

As to the oath of abjuration, there is a vast difference between it and this, for there are some clauses in it, to the truth of which, I think no Roman Catholic, at least I am convinced I cannot in conscience swear; I shall single out three.— First, I am required by this oath to swear that I believe in my conscience the late King James, or the Pretender, have no right or title whatsoever to the Crown of England: now I am so far a stranger to the right and titles of Kings and Princes, (and I am sure most of my profession, if not all in this kingdom are so) that I would not take such an oath to any King, Prince or Potentate in Europe, with respect to all such Pretenders to their Crowns as they should require me to abjure. For to be able to swear it, I must have sure and certain motives to ground my belief upon, else I perjure myself. But this is what I could never yet find in any thing that I read, or from any person with whom I conversed. Nay many Divines,

and

and persons of note and learning of the Church of England, and of the Church of Scotland, and Ireland by law established, have believed and do still believe, that neither the late King James, nor the Pretender, have forfeited their right to the Crown of England. And I am sure all the divines and lawyers in France, Spain and Italy, are of the same opinion. How can I then, or any other Roman Catholic in this Kingdom, ground my belief, so as to swear that he has not? but whether he has or has not, I am no ways concerned at taking the oath of allegiance, which the law of nature and the common practice of all nations, allows me to take with a safe conscience to any Prince who conquers me and the country of which I am a member, though he be never so great a tyrant or usurper, even to the Czar of Muscovy, or the Grand Turk. But surely I could not swear, that I believed King George hath no right to the Crown of England or Ireland, should either of these conquer me. In a word, what I swear in the oath of Allegiance is in my power to keep, that is, not to be in any plot or conspiracy against King George or his Government. Or if I hear any to discover it. And if I do not, I perjure myself; but it is not in my power to found a belief by which I should swear to the truth of this clause in the oath of Abjuration, and therefore I think I cannot in conscience take it.

Secondly, there is another clause in the oath of Abjuration, requiring men to swear they will maintain the succession to the Crown in the Protestant line, &c. Now, how any Roman Catholic, continuing such, can in conscience take such an oath,

I own I do not understand. For by this Clause I am sworn (should I take the said oath) to withdraw my obedience from (and the Allegiance I swore before to) King George and his successors, in Case he or his successors should become Roman Catholics, nor is this an imaginary Case, for what was, may be. The King of Navarre, Henry the IV. was once a Protestant, and became a Roman Catholic, The Duke of Sazony, now King of Poland, was a Protestant, but is now a Roman Catholic. And to come nearer home King Charles the II. and King James his Brother were both Protestants; and became Roman Catholics. Now if it should so happen to the royal family in Great-Britain in time to come, and that they should embrace the religion which I profess. Could I in conscience, violate my oath of Allegiance to them, and to my power be aiding and assisting in dethroning them for doing that which it is my opinion and belief they ought to do? no surely!

I would willingly beg those gentlemen who press us to take this oath, to turn the tables, and allow me for argument sake to put a case, suppose a Roman Catholic Prince sitting on his throne in England should get an oath framed by Act of Parliament, in which there should be a clause requiring all the subjects to swear they would maintain the succession in the Roman Catholic line. Could any honest Protestant take this oath with a safe conscience? If not, I beseech you, gentlemen. practise the golden rule, Do as you would be done by. The third clause I remarked in the oath, runs thus, And I make this Recognition, Declaration, &c. heartily freely, and willingly. I shall only remark

remark upon this clause, that to my certain knowledge, many a Man as well Protestant as Catholic, have taken the oath of Abjuration with aking hearts, and no other way willingly than as a Merchant or Sailor in a storm, throws his goods over board into the Sea, to save his life. Now, whether such men do not perjure themselves, (since the Laws of God require we should not only part with our goods, but even lay down our lives rather than sin against conscience) I leave the world to judge.

By this time I hope it is pretty plain, that no Roman Catholic can, with a safe conscience, take the oath of Abjuration; as also that their obedience and fidelity to the Government, is as well secured by the oath of allegiance as by it. But let us suppose that the taking of the oath of Abjuration, is a further security of the subjects fidelity; what have the Roman Catholics of Ireland to do with that? They laid down their arms, and gave up their garrison towns and cities, with their stores and ammunition, upon the solemn promise, and under the sanction of public faith, ratified by royal authority, that no other oath should be required of them but that of allegiance. Is there no regard to be had for that public faith and law of nations, which were held so sacred by the very heathens, that they used to denounce the wrath and vengeance of their false Gods, against such as violated them.—*Si Genus Humanum et Mortali Temnitis arma at Sperate Deos Memores fandi atque Nefandi.* Eneid. Virg. Lib. 4.

Well may then any General who comes to besiege a town, offer his own terms to the besieged,

(for

(for so he will be sure to carry it without the loss of a Man) and break them when the besieged are in his power, if he can dispense with these sacred ties. Well may men break their vows, oaths and promises, when it is convenient for them, if public faith may be broken upon any consideration. Well might the noble Roman, Atilius Regulus stay at Rome, and not go back to Carthage, where he was sure to be put to a cruel death, as he was; could he think he might dispense with the promise he made to return, in case he succeeded not in his embassy. In a word, loose that sacred band and all the world will be a Chaos, an Aceldama, or a field of blood.

King William of happy memory had other notions of the public faith, when he went with his army to besiege Limerick. He offered the Roman Catholics conditions; which they did not think good enough, though they were ready to submit, and lay down their arms, had he condescended to give them better terms. He besieged the town in form, made a large breach in the wall, and assaulted it three several times; but could not carry the place. Would not his Majesty then give the Roman Catholics any terms they could in reason desire, rather than suffer the check of being obliged to raise the siege, as he was, if he thought he might in honour or conscience break his promise, when the besieged was in his power? so far from it that during his reign, he did not suffer the least attempt to be made upon the articles which his Generals made the year following with the Roman Catholic army at Limerick, of which we have a pregnant instance. For in the third year of his

reign

reign when an act of parliament passed in England, intituled an act for the abrogating the oath of Supremacy, and appointing other oaths, requiring all Officers, Magistrates, Lawyers, &c, in Ireland to take the same; there was a saving for such Roman Catholics as were entitled to the benefit of the articles of Limerick; and it was expressly provided by the said act that they should be obliged to take the oath of Allegiance and no other.

But alas! this great Monarch was no sooner laid up with his Fathers, but the Roman Catholics began to feel the dire effects of some Men's spleen; I say some Men, for God Almighty be thanked, we have always had many worthy gentlemen of great honour and integrity in the house of commons, and many also in the house of lords, without whose help we would have been long since consumed. But our misfortune hitherto was, that, as every thing in parliament is carried by a majority of votes, and those, who did not wish us well, being generally the greater in number, there was a session of parliament in this kingdom, during the reign of Queen Anne, in which one point or other has not been invaded of the articles and conditions upon which we submitted to King William, and which are in themselves no more than what was natural for subjects and free born Men to expect. Nay much less than our neighbouring nation the Scots obtained upon their submitting to the Crown of England. But there is this difference; that not one tittle of conditions promised to these, was ever yet violated; whereas there is scarce an article of the conditions upon which the Roman Catholics submitted, but has been broken by

by severe laws. And yet we challenge all the world to shew us one instance in which we have not demeaned ourselves, as dutiful and as loyal subjects as the Scots, if not more: so that it is plain the design of those our enemies, who had no regard to the sacred bands by which all nations are in a manner tied together, was to destroy and extirminate us from off the face of the earth. But I would beg of them to consider, that there is a God in Heaven, an avenger of wrongs, a God of vengeance to those who violate public faith; a crime which never fails to bring visible judgments from Heaven, especially when it is public and national, as may be manifestly seen both in sacred and profane history.

The Gibeonites (Josh. 9) though by fraud and craft, prevailed upon Joshua to give them his faith for their lives, which he and his successors made good to the days of King Saul, who destroyed these wretches with fire and sword; for which in the days of King David there came a visible judgment upon the Israelites from God, whose wrath could not be appeased but by the blood of the seven sons of Saul. 2. Sam. 2.

Antiochus Epiphanes gave publickly Josephus' faith to the Jews, which he broke. De.

And the catastrophe of him and his family is too well known to need to be here recited. The Carthaginians made often Peace with the Romans; and as often broke it without just cause; for which a decree was made by the Senate in Rome, in these words, Delenda, est Carthago, Delendi Fidi fragi Peni, which was accordingly put in execution.—It were endless to enumerate all the instances of

this nature in History ; I shall therefore content myself with two more. Ladislaus, King of Hungary made a truce with Amurath the third, and without any just cause broke it, and in the day of battle, when the Turks were defeated, and put to flight, Amurath seeing his troops broken and running away, pulled out of his bosom, the writing which contained the articles of the truce, lifted up his eyes to Heaven and addressed himself to the God of the Christians, praying him to revenge the wrong done to his name by the Christians in violating their oath and the public faith. He had not well finished these words, when all of a sudden, his troops rallied, attacked the Christians and utterly defeated them; killing many thousands of them together with their King on the field of battle.

Lewis the 13th King of France, by the famous edict of Nants, gave the Hugonots the free exercise of their Religion, but Lewis the 14th broke that edict, and banished at least an hundred thousand of them. When this great Prince was in the height of his glory, was the terror of Europe; and thought the world too little for him. When the very names of Musqueteres, Gendarmes, Mason du Roy, struck a terror into their enemies, these formidable, invincible troops, all of a sudden, lost their courage, turned their backs to the enemy, and received at the battle of Hocksted such an overthrow, attended with the loss of two other great battles, Ramelies and Turin, which brought this haughty Prince and his people so low; that he was glad to sue in an humble manner, and to accept of a Peace, upon almost the very terms his enemies prej

prescribed him; and yet the vengeance of Heaven did not cease to pursue him, (in all probability for the breach of public faith, though with his own subjects) till his son, his two grandsons, and two great grandsons were swept away almost in one year, so that his family (though in appearance the best stocked with a numerous issue of any Prince in Europe,) was reduced in his own sight, to a single infant of five years old; and his Kingdom to so much misery and desolation, both of pestilence and famine as is hardly to be expressed.— And will not the vengeance of Heaven (think you) pursue those who so flagrantly broke the public faith, solemnly given to the Catholics of Ireland, now indeed, honest, innocent and loyal subjects to King George, but then, had good reasons, as they conceived, not to submit 'till they were conquered? Is the hand of the Lord shortened since that time? Is he less zealous of his honour now than in those days? Or has he any exception of persons, so as not to punish all nations alike, when equally guilty of the same sins? No, but he is patient, and long suffering, gives sinners time to think of their ways, and waits either for their amendment, or the filling up the measure of their sins. Super tribus Scelestibus Juda & super Quatuor non Convertam eum. Amos. 2. 4. And who can tell but the bill now under consideration, should it pass into a law, is the filling up the measure of the sins of those gentlemen who have so often before violated the public faith? it seems indeed as far as human reason can penetrate into God's secrets, to be so. For it is calculated for the utter ruin and destruction of all the Roman

Catholics in the Kingdom, Notwithstanding the public saith given them at Limerick, of enjoying all the liberties, privileges, immunities and freedom, as well in civil as religious matters, which they enjoyed in the reign of King Charles the second. And the well grounded hopes they flattered themselves with living easy, and quiet for the future, as they have done since his Majesty's accession to the throne. But God in his mercy grant that the innocent worthy members of the honourable House of Commons, or the noble peers of the House of Lords be not involved with those gentlemen who do not love us, in a common calamity as it usually happens ; the people being generally punished for the sins of their rulers. Witness the sins of David, light, indeed, in appearance. The numbering only of his subjects, which was, however punished with the destruction of seventy thousand of his people in three days. 2. Sam. 24.

This Bill, this fatal Bill ! provides, that no Roman Catholic Priest, under the penalty of high treason, shall say Mass in the kingdom ; except those who have taken the oath of Abjuration (a manifest violation of the ninth article of the capitulation of Limerick) and that no Man, under the penalty of Felony, without benefit of Clergy, shall aid, assist, or harbour any such Priest, and to make sure work, it provides also, that the Informer of such Priest, or layman, assisting, aiding or harbouring him, shall have an hundred pounds reward, and another hundred pounds are to be given to the prosecutor of such Priest (or layman aiding or assisting the Priest) in order to his conviction.

Now

Now it is certain that even hundred Roman Catholic Priests, who were registered pursuant to an act of Parliament to that purpose, not above thirty three Priests ever took the oath of abjuration; and of these thirty-three one half are now dead; and of the registered Priests more than two thirds. What shall so many thousand of Roman Catholics in every province of the Kingdom do then, to serve God in their own way? (I beg I may not be understood, as if I intended to magnify their numbers to give an umbrage to the Government: For I say nothing but what every Protestant in the nation knows as well as myself, and very well knows also, that they are in no capacity to molest and give any disturbance; and I dare engage they have no Intention or design so do to) what shall they do when sick or dying? To send for a Priest (if any can be had, for they must all quit the Kingdom, or expose themselves to inevitable death) it is to themselves certain death, considering, the greatness of the reward offered to the Informer who doubtless will be one of their own domestics. O unspeakable cruelty! O faith of men! — Surely to treat them as the French King did the Hugonots would be much more tolerable; that is, to banish them the Kingdom, and to allow them a reasonable time to sell their estates, and dispose of their effects, as he did.

To pass by many other severe clauses in this bill, I beg leave to offer my humble opinion, that it is impolitic, and against the interest of the Government, that such a bill should pass into a law.

First; It is impolitic to prosecute the Roman Catholics

Catholics in this Kingdom; when the King is labouring to get a toleration for Protestants from Roman Catholic Princes.

Secondly, It is impolitic, because it will drain the Kingdom of the greatest part of the people; especially of that part which we call in Scripture phrase, hewers of wood and drawers of water. For if this bill passes into a law, all the estates Roman Catholics, all the Merchants, Dealers, Shop-keepers, all the tradesmen and farmers, with their respective clans, will dispose of their effects and quit the Kingdom, as will also the little people who are able to purchase their passage; and such as are not will become thieves and robbers, having no Clergymen to teach or instruct, or to keep them within bounds. And I may very well presume there are few Protestants in the Kingdom who do not know that the Roman Catholics big and little taken together are more than half the number of the people of Ireland. Besides all these at least their children may be trained up to arms abroad, and furnish the Pretender with a numerous army, who doubtless will have stomach enough to recover their native country, and vindicate the wrongs which they conceive to have been done to themselves and their parents. And here I cannot but reflect upon what I have often heard the greatest and wisest statesmen in France say — that the French King never made a more impolitic step than that of banishing the Hugonots; For they were the most fierce, the most desperate and the most prodigal of their lives of all other enemies, during the whole course of his wars.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, It is impolitic to dispeople a nation which must of necessity be supplied by foreigners and strangers ; how else shall we plough our land, reap or thresh our corn, draw stones, or water, &c. Now it is not to be imagined, we can be furnished with a sufficient number for such purposes otherwise than by inviting all the Hugonots, or French refugees, dispersed over most countries of Europe. These indeed we may have ; but then they have and will be still Hugonots or Calvinists, will wear swords and carry arms ; and though they will readily take all the oaths which our laws require, yet still will be of a different Religion from that which is by law established, and will endeavour to propagate it. And who knows, what so great a body of people trained up to arms, and fierce in their nature, may in the second or third generation attempt upon the natives?

This reflection, I take the liberty to borrow from the answer, which a noble Peer of our Country (the late Earl of Drogheda) made to my Lord Galway who left no stone unturned, nor no method or refined politics unpractised, when he sat at the helm the first time, to get a bill passed, by which the Roman Catholics should be obliged to take the oath of Supremacy. And who, observing that most of the Peers were averse to any such cruelty, began to closet them one by one, in order to extort a promise from them to be for passing the bill ; this noble Peer being sent for to this purpose, my Lord Galway addressed him in this manner : I do not question (my Lord) said he, but your Lordship will be for passing this good bill :

for by it, the Protestant Religion will be strengthened, and we shall get rid of those vermin the Papists. My Lord, I should be very glad (answered the Earl of Drogheda) to see the Protestant Religion strengthened ; but what shall we do, my Lord, continued he, for hewers of wood, and drawers of water, for labouring men to plough our land, thresh our corn, &c. Take no thought for that, my Lord, (replied my Lord Galway) for I give you my word and honour, I will bring thirty thousand good Protestant families into the kingdom in three months after the bill is passed. Thirty thousand Protestant families ! for that very reason, rejoined the Earl, I will be against the bill ; for there is not one of them but wears a sword and thinks himself as good a gentleman as I am ; and possibly would offer to fight me, should I attempt to find fault with him ; and for any thing I know, such a number would in thirty or forty years, increase, so as to drive the natives out of the land.

Lordy, It is against the interest of the government ; for it is well known, that the Roman Catholic merchants and dealers carry on more than half the trade of the kingdom, and pay more custom and duty for imported goods, than all the Protestants in it. Now if this Bill should pass, all these merchants and dealers, would be necessitated to leave the kingdom, to the great diminution of the revenue ; and God knows in how many years this could be ret ioved, itever.

This is the lamentable case, right reverend fathers in God, right honourable lords and most excellent

cellent senators, of the unfortunate Roman Catholics of Ireland; who would have died to the last man, with their swords in their hands, could they imagine that the public faith, so solemnly given them, should be violated, or themselves reduced without cause, to so intolerable servitude. Their behaviour being so even, their demeanor so peaceable, and their loyalty so untainted, that they challenge the worst of their enemies from the day they submitted to this, to find the least flaw or blemish in their conduct. Nay, the only thing I could ever hear them charged with, is, that their hearts and affections are not for the government, and that there are a great many priests come of late from foreign countries into this kingdom.

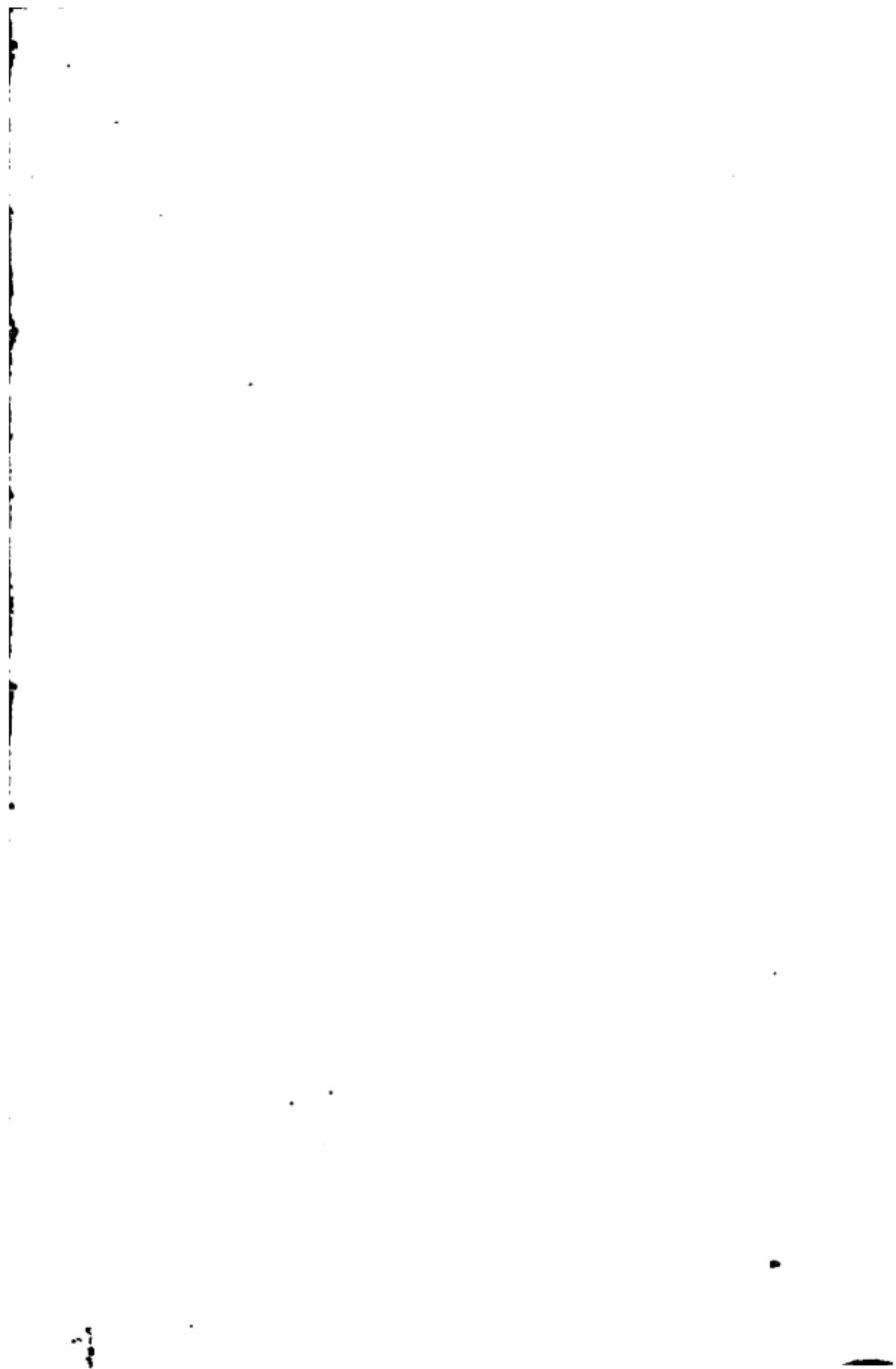
To the first of these articles, I shall beg leave to return the same answer, as the General of the Viertes did to the Roman Consul (Titus Livius) this General being asked by the Consul, (after having concluded a peace the fourth or fifth time with him and his people) how long would that last peace hold? answered, so long as you use us well. Be pleased, most excellent Lords and noble Senators, to give us the same liberty and freedom as our fellow subjects have, to use our industry, and enjoy the fruits thereof; let no distinction be made, but of good and bad, and I will engage the government will have our hearts, our affections, and our hands. For there need no great stock of reason to conclude, that men who live easy and happy, under any government, will be such fools, as to be easily induced to exchange a certainty for an uncertainty. And 't must be a very great stran-

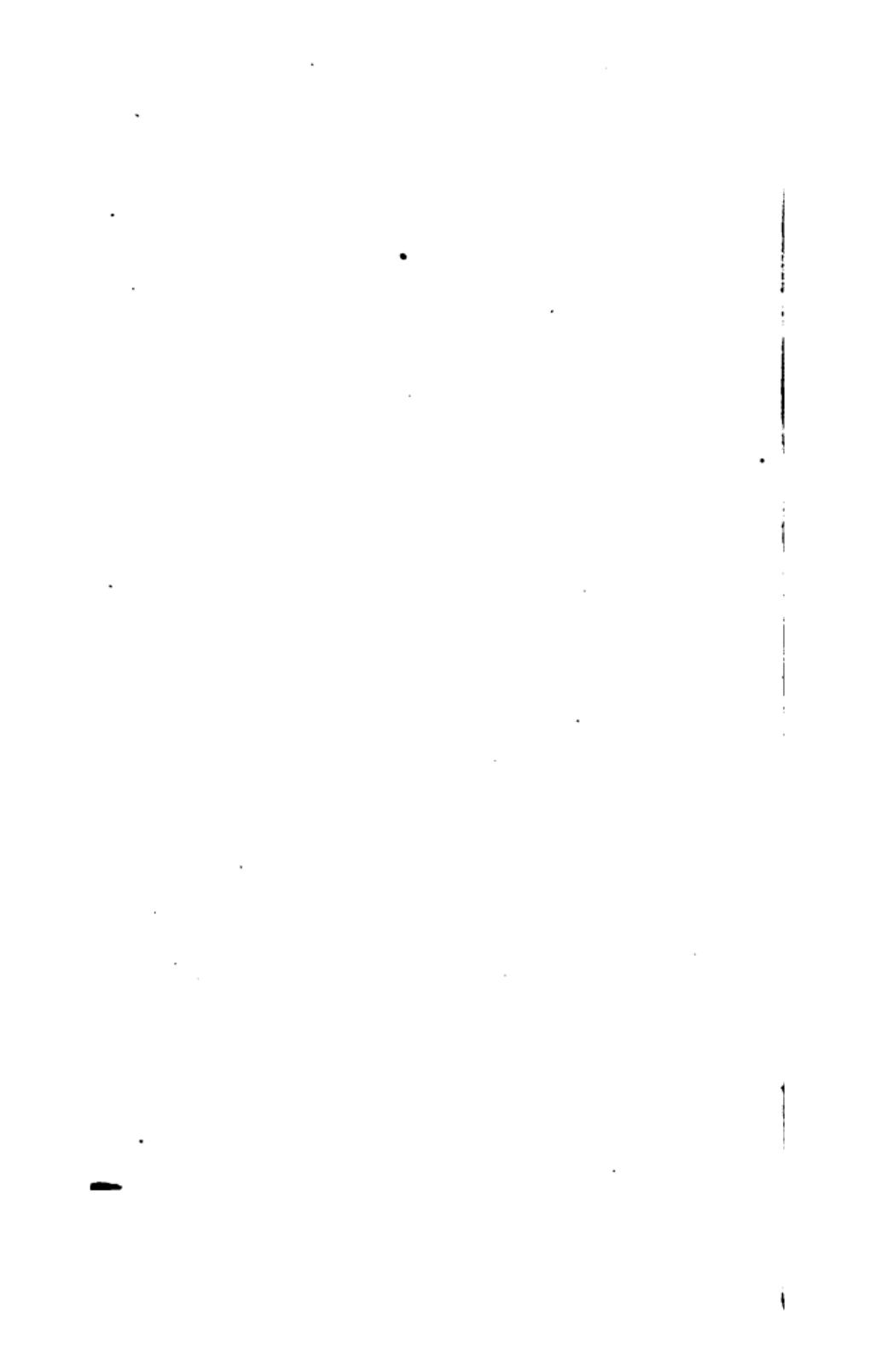
ger to the constitutions of Germany and Holland, who thinks that Roman Catholics and Protestants that are equally well used, cannot be equally zealous, and equally well affected to the Government, under which they live.

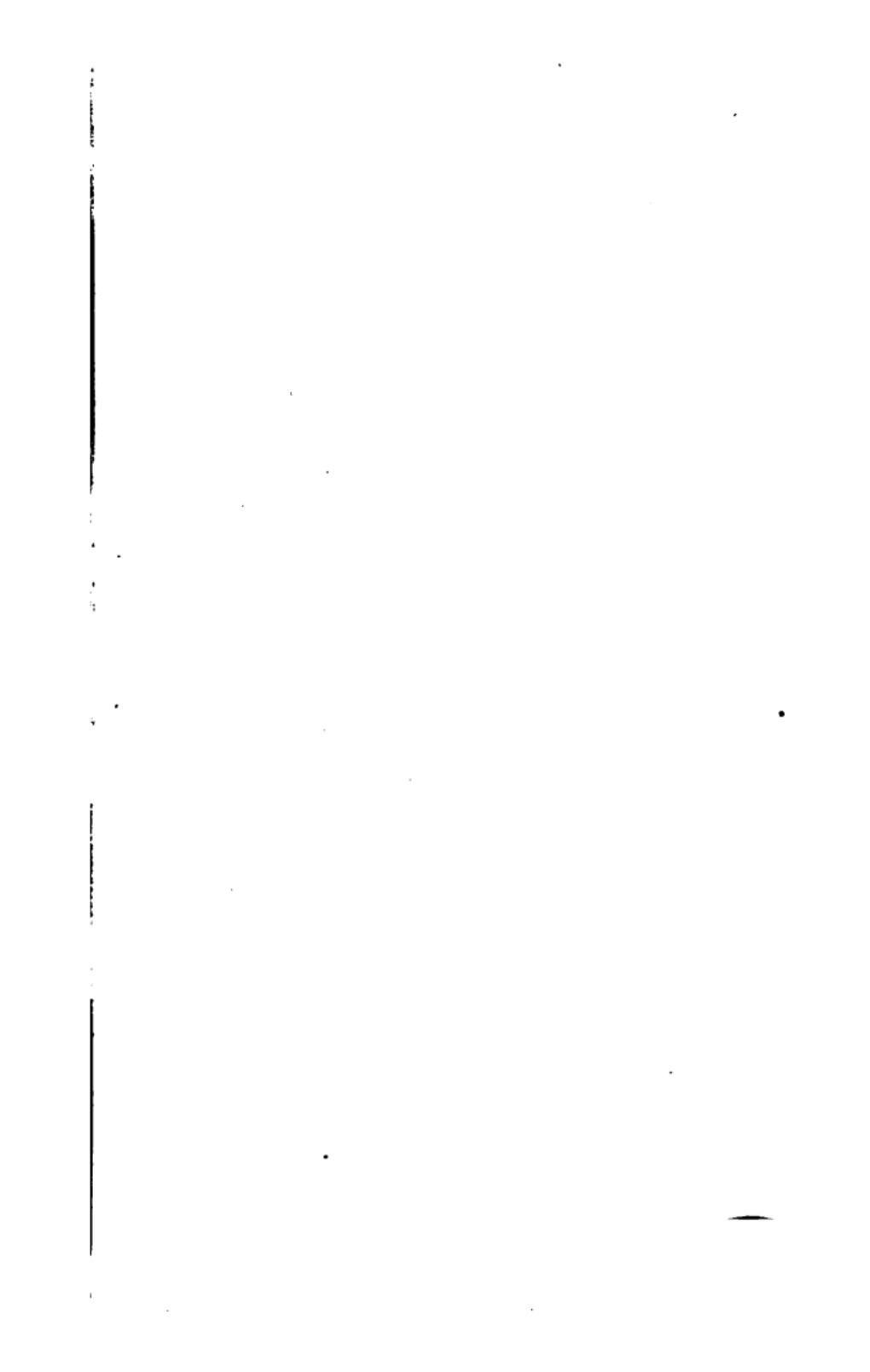
In answer to the second, I shall only ask the same question, as Abraham did of God Almighty. Gen. 18. 23. Wilt thou also destroy the righteous, with the wicked; must the civil and quiet Priests, who have lived these many years in the country, be destroyed for the indiscretion of other Priests, whose coming they knew nothing of; nor, if they had, was it in their power to prevent: No they hope better things from the mildness and lenity of the present government; and flatter themselves, that as they have been overlooked since the accession of his sacred Majesty King George to the Throne (notwithstanding the severity of the laws made against them in the reign of Queen Anne) and enjoyed without any trouble or molestation, the free exercise of their religion, which they gratefully accept with all thankfulness, and for which they continually pray for the blessings of Heaven upon his Majesty and his magistrates: so the same mildness and lenity will still overlook and preserve them; and therefore, most humbly submit themselves and their Case to the wisdom of the present parliament.

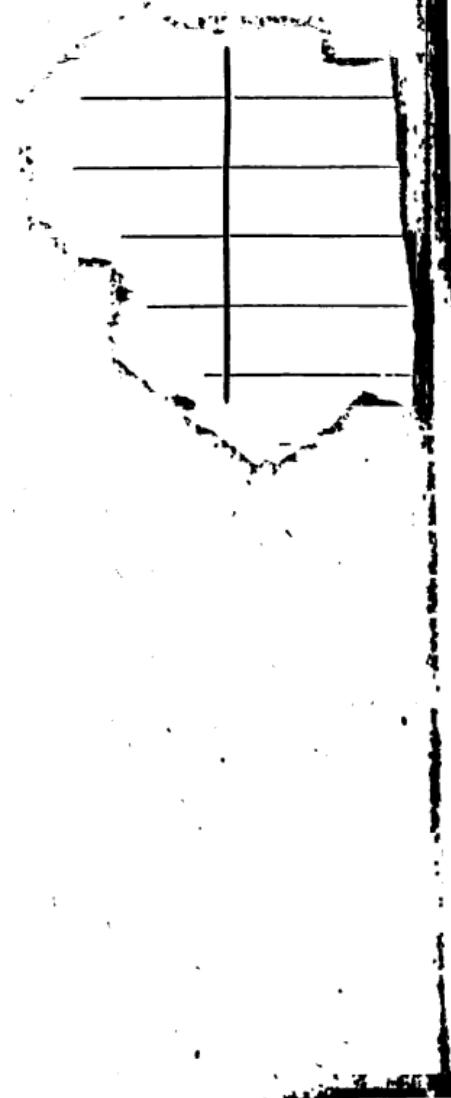
F I N I S.

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